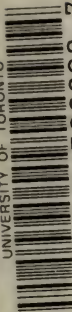


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# JOURNAL OF LAROCQUE

FROM THE

ASSINIBOINE TO THE YELLOWSTONE

1805

EDITED WITH NOTES BY

L. J. BURPEE, F.R.G.S.

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# JOURNAL OF LAROCQUE.

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## INTRODUCTION.

In a letter dated November 7th, 1806, Sir Alexander MacKenzie writes his cousin, Roderick McKenzie, of the North West Company: 'When I wrote you respecting the publication of the second edition of my voyages, I had not the most distant idea that it was the intention of the Company to give the History of the Northwest, and now, instead of asking your assistance, I offer you mine, as you are the person that seems to take the lead.' In a foot-note to this letter, in his *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, L. R. Masson throws some further light upon this project: "The Hon. R. McKenzie was a man of considerable literary attainments and very extensive reading. He appears to have at one time entertained the idea of publishing a History of the Aboriginal tribes of the Northwest, as well as a History of the Northwest Company. In order to procure the necessary materials for that work, he sent printed circulars to many of the wintering partners and clerks of the Northwest Company, requesting them to collect, and send to him in the form of letters or journals, such information as they could obtain relating to the country in which they were respectively stationed; the natives, their origin, religion, morals and customs; their most eminent chiefs, their government; the origin of their trade with the white, &c. He received in response several reports, "accounts," and journals from the Northwest,—some of which are published in this collection (*Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*)—but he does not appear to have carried out his original plan, but seems to have been content with collecting a vast number of most interesting extracts from the books of different travellers and writers, and arranging them so as to prove and establish a perfect analogy of race between the Aborigines of the Northwest and other nations, ancient and modern, throughout the world, by the similarity of their ideas, customs and modes of living."



The material so gathered by Roderick McKenzie, or most of it, came eventually into the hands of Senator Masson, and a selection of it was published, with an introduction and notes, in his *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*. After the death of Senator Masson these valuable documents were sold at auction, many being acquired by the Dominion Archives, others by the Library of McGill University. Among those in the McGill Library is a draft outline of Roderick McKenzie's projected work, which apparently was to have been in two volumes. It is entitled: 'Some Account of the Northwest Company. Containing Analogy of Nations Ancient and Modern. By Roderick Mackenzie, Esq., a Director. Member of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada. Lieut.-Col. of Militia. Member of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. Member of the American Antiquarian Society; and Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen.' Whether Roderick McKenzie was appalled at the magnitude of the task he had undertaken, or discouraged by its cost, there is no means of knowing; at any rate his ambitious work never saw the light, in spite of its elaborate title-page.

Among the journals that McKenzie had obtained for his work were the narratives of a series of expeditions overland from the Assiniboine to the Mandan villages on the Missouri. These journals, by François Antoine Larocque, and Charles Mackenzie, clerks in the employ of the Northwest Company, covered the years 1804, 1805 and 1806, and are interesting, not only because of the light they throw upon the history of the fur trade, but also on account of the particulars they furnish as to the life and customs of one of the most remarkable of western tribes, the Mandans. Larocque's 'Missouri Journal, 1804-05,' and the first part of Charles Mackenzie's 'Missouri Indians,' cover the same journey. The expedition was in charge of Larocque, and Mackenzie accompanied him as an assistant.

In the second expedition, of a much more ambitious nature than the first, Larocque was again in charge, with Mackenzie as assistant. Of this journey, or a portion of it, an account is given in Mackenzie's 'Second Expedition, 1805,' but until quite recently Larocque's own narrative has not been available.

It may have formed part of the material collected by Roderick McKenzie, but if so was not acquired by Masson, and in fact does not seem to have been known to him. References are made in Mackenzie's narrative of his 'Third Expedition, 1805,' to Larocque's journal, but for a long time no trace could be found of the document itself. In fact the original journal is still missing, but what purports to be an exact copy is now in the Library of Laval University, Montreal, with a number of other manuscripts bequeathed to that institution by the late Judge Baby of Montreal. This 'Journal of a Voyage to the Rocky Mountains from my leaving the Assinibois River on the 2nd June, 1805,' as it is entitled, is now printed for the first time, being, so far as can be ascertained at present, a verbatim transcript of the original.

Mackenzie accompanied Larocque only as far as the Mandan and Minnetaree villages on the Missouri. Up to that point each journal forms an admirable commentary upon the other, as in the case of the previous expedition. Mackenzie also supplements Larocque in regard to the preparations for the latter's journey from the Missouri villages to the country of the Rocky Mountain Indians, or Crows, and the attempts of some of the Minnetarees to block the enterprise. From the time of Larocque's final departure, however, until his return in October, nothing has hitherto been known of his movements beyond Mackenzie's meagre reference, in his 'Third Expedition.' 'On the 18th November,' he says (he was a month out, Larocque's journal proving that he returned on the 18th October), 'to our great joy our worthy friend Mr. Larocque and his party made their appearance from their visit to the Rocky Mountain. It is not necessary that I should give the particulars of his journey, as Mr. Larocque himself has kept an account of it, I shall merely observe that he was disappointed in his expedition, suffered great hardships and took no less than thirty-six days on his return to our establishment.' It was thirty-four days, to be strictly accurate.

Before going further it may be worth while to quote an interesting passage from Daniel Williams Harmon's 'Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America.' Under date of April 10th, 1805, he writes:

‘While at Montagne à la Basse, Mr. Chaboillez induced me to consent to undertake a long and arduous tour of discovery. I am to leave that place, about the beginning of June, accompanied by six or seven Canadians, and by two or three Indians. The first place at which we shall stop will be the Mandan Village, on the Missouri River. Thence, we shall steer our course towards the Rocky Mountain, accompanied by a number of the Mandan Indians, who proceed in that direction every spring, to meet and trade with another tribe of Indians, who reside on the other side of the Rocky Mountain. It is expected that we shall return from our excursion in the month of November next.’

To this statement Harmon added the following, apparently when preparing his narrative for publication: ‘This journey I never undertook; for soon after the plan of it was settled, my health became so much impaired, that I was under the necessity of proceeding to Headquarters, to procure medical assistance. A Mr. La Rocque attempted to make this tour, but went no farther than the Mandan Village.’ This last statement reveals remarkable ignorance of the extent of Larocque’s journey; all the more strange when it is remembered that Harmon and Larocque were members of the same fur company, and that Harmon was upon terms of intimacy with Charles J. B. Chaboillez, the *Bourgeois* or partner in charge of the Upper Red River, or Assiniboine, Department, who had sent Larocque upon his journey, and to whom he reported upon his return. Possibly, from motives of trade policy or for some other reason, the particulars of Larocque’s journey may have been so carefully suppressed at the time, that even Harmon was ignorant as to its extent. It will be clear, also, after reading Larocque’s narrative, that Harmon was inaccurate as to the movements of the Indians, upon whom he relied to accompany him to the ‘Rocky Mountain.’

The special interest of Larocque’s journal lies in the fact that it describes the first visit of white men to the country of the Crow Indians, with the exception of La Vérendrye’s expedition of 1742–43, and contains the earliest authoritative account of that tribe. The narrative is remarkably clear and full, bespeaking an exceptionally intelligent and wide-awake

traveller; and, despite the comparatively limited field it covers, deserves to rank with such classics of the fur trade as the journals of Alexander Henry, *the Elder*, and his nephew of the same name, Daniel Williams Harmon, John McDonald of Garth, Alexander Ross, Gabriel Franchère, Charles Mackenzie and Ross Cox. Larocque's journal is in fact more readable than many more ambitious narratives of the fur trade. It contains here and there vivid touches that carry the reader back into the heart of that vanished period in western history, when men of fearless, and often heroic, mould blazed new trails through a vast wilderness, taking most of the 'time gamblers' chances of winning through, descending unknown rivers in their frail canoes, dashing overland in midwinter from one remote trading post to another, accepting even chances of death by starvation or exposure as part of the day's work, penetrating single-handed into the territory of hostile tribes. These rough fur-traders were no saints, but nevertheless they were for the most part men of whom any country might be proud. Their faults as well as their virtues were those of a virile race. They were the true pioneers in that land of marvellous possibilities to which all eyes are now turned, and it is not too much to say that they were largely instrumental in winning the western half of the continent to civilization.

While Larocque's narrative is chiefly notable for its descriptions of the Crows and their country, it also throws new light upon the characteristics of the Mandans and Minnetarees, and offers a valuable commentary upon the narrative of Lewis and Clark as regards those tribes of the Pacific slope, the Flatheads and Snakes. Like Alexander Henry, *the Younger*, and other chroniclers of the fur-trade period, Larocque is entirely frank as to the seamy side of native life. As Dr. Coues said of Henry's Indians, these 'are the genuine aboriginal articles, not the mock heroes of Leatherstocking romance.' For this very reason the narrative is all the more valuable as a contribution to North American ethnology.

Of the writer of this journal, François Antoine Larocque, not much is known. According to Masson, he was a brother of Joseph Larocque, who 'occupied for many years a very prominent position in the Northwest and Hudson Bay Companies.'



5 ( 'Mr. F. A. Larocque,' continues Masson, 'was a man of good abilities, of great courage and energy. He was well read, studious and equally proficient in the use of the French and English languages, but he decidedly preferred the latter. The life of an Indian trader had not for him the attractions it had for his brother; he soon left the Northwest, came to Montreal and entered business, in which he was most unfortunate. He passed the last years of his life in close retirement and arduous study, and died, much advanced in years, in the Grey nunnery of St. Hyacinthe. Mr. Larocque married a Miss Coté, the daughter of an independent Northwest trader, and the sister of Mr. Jules Maurice Quesnel. He left only one son, Mr. Alfred Larocque, the father of Mr. le Chevalier Larocque, expapal zouave; of Mr. Armand Larocque and of Mrs. Aldéric Ouimet, the wife of the [former] Speaker of the House of Commons.' Dr. Elliott Coues has a biographical note on Larocque, taken for the most part from Masson, in his 'Henry-Thompson Journals' (I. 361); and Joseph Tassé has a few words to say of him in his 'Canadiens de l'Ouest' (II. 324-5). Larocque is frequently mentioned in the journals of Lewis and Clark, who met him at the Mandan villages on the Missouri; and is also referred to by Alexander Henry, *the Younger*, Charles Mackenzie, and Daniel Williams Harmon. Larocque's own narrative, here published, supplies some meagre details not hitherto available as to his life in the west previous to his first expedition to the Missouri with Charles Mackenzie, in the 'autumn of 1804. From these fragmentary notes, which will be found at the end of his journal, it appears that he left Montreal, or Lachine, on the 26th April, 1801, in the service of the X Y Company, and arrived at Grand Portage the latter end of June. From there he was sent to Fort Charlotte, on Pigeon River, and later in the year to English river, where he spent the winter. In the spring he journeyed farther west, to Fort des Prairies, on the Saskatchewan, and around to Red river. In 1802 he was still in the service of the X Y Company, but does not say where he was stationed. For the two following years he gives no particulars whatever, but we know that he was stationed at Fort Assiniboine in the autumn of 1804, and, as already stated, left with Charles Mackenzie, J. B. Lafrance,

and four voyageurs, on a trip to the Mandans. His name is mentioned, as a *commis*, or clerk, in the department of *Haut de la Rivière Rouge*, in the 'Liste des bourgeois, commis, engagés, et voyageurs de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, après la fusion de 1804,' at the end of v. I of Masson's *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*.

The accompanying map will be of assistance in following Larocque step by step, from his departure from Fort a la Bosse, on the Assiniboine, on June 2nd, 1805, to his return to the same place on October 18th of the same year.

The following bibliographical notes will also be of service to those who may wish to dig deeper into the rich mines of ethnology, history and crude human nature to be found in the literature of the western fur trade. These notes serve the more immediate purpose of a commentary upon Larocque's narrative:

*Larocque's personal history:*

L. R. Masson. 'Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest,' I, 81 *et seq*, 299.

Joseph Tassé. 'Les Canadiens de l'Ouest,' II, 324-5.

Elliott Coues. 'Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson,' I, 301.

Daniel Williams Harmon. 'Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America,' Oct. 4, 1804.

*North West Company:*

L. R. Masson. 'Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest.'

George Bryce. 'Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company, including that of the French Traders of Northwestern Canada and of the Northwest, X Y and Astor Fur Companies.'

'Origin and Progress of the North West Company of Canada,' London, 1811.

'History of the Fur-Trade,' in Alexander Mackenzie's 'Voyages from Montreal to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans.'

'Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, *Note E*, Northwest Trade.

Report on Canadian Archives, 1890, *Note C*, Northwest-  
ern Explorations.

Northwest manuscripts, in Canadian Archives.

Masson papers, in McGill University Library.

Alexander Henry. 'Travels and Adventures in Canada  
and the Indian Territories, 1760-1776.' Ed. by James  
Bain.

Elliott Coues. 'Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry  
and David Thompson.'

Daniel Williams Harmon. 'Journal of Voyages and Tra-  
vels in the Interior of North America.'

Alexander Ross. 'Fur-Hunters of the Far West.'

Alexander Ross. 'Red River Settlement,' London, 1856.

Ross Cox. 'Adventures on the Columbia.'

Gabriel Franchère. 'Narrative of a Voyage to the North-  
west Coast of America.'

Edouard Umfreville. 'The Present State of Hudson Bay.'

H. H. Bancroft. 'History of the Northwest Coast.'

Joseph Tassé. 'Les Canadiens de l'Ouest.'

G. Dugas. *L'ouest Canadien*.

Alexander Begg. 'History of the Northwest.'

*The Mandans and other Tribes of the Upper Missouri:*

Journal of La Vérendrye, 1738-39. 'Report on Canadian  
Archives, 1889,' *Note A*.

Journal of La Vérendrye, 1742-43. Canadian Archives  
MSS.

Maximilian, Prince of Wied. 'Travels in the Interior of  
North America, 1832-34.'

Lewis and Clark. 'Expedition to the Sources of the Mis-  
souri,' &c., 1804-5-6.

George Catlin. 'Letters and Notes on the Manners, Cus-  
toms and Condition of the North American Indians.'

George Catlin. 'O-Kee-Pa and Other Customs of the Man-  
dans.'

Charles Mackenzie. 'The Mississouri Indians.' *In* Masson,  
I.

E. A. Larocque. 'The Missouri Journal, 1804-5.' *In*  
Masson, I.



David Thompson. Mandan tour. In his MSS. Journals, Book 9, vol. 5, Crown Lands Department, Toronto. *See* also Dr. Coues' note, in Henry-Thompson Journals, I, 301.

Alexander Henry. The Mandan Tour, 1806. 'Henry-Thompson Journals,' chap. IX.

H. R. Schoolcraft. 'Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States,' &c., pt. III, pp. 247 *et seq.*

Lewis H. Morgan. 'Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family,' 181 *et seq.*

Lewis H. Morgan. 'Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines.'

Lewis H. Morgan. 'Ancient Society.'

J. O. Dorsey. 'Study of Siouan Cults.'

J. O. Dorsey. 'Siouan Ethnology.'

#### *The Crow Indians:*

Morgan. 'Ancient Society.'

Morgan. 'Systems of Consanguinity,' &c.

J. P. Beckwourth. 'Life and Adventures.'

F. V. Hayden. 'Contributions to the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley.'

Maximilian. 'Travels in the Interior of North America.'

Thomas Say. Vocabulary of the Uparoka or Crow. In E. James' 'Account of an Expedition,' &c.

R. G. Latham. 'Miscellaneous Contributions to the Ethnography of North America.'

M. I. Carrington. 'Ab-Sa-Ra-Ka.'

Elliott Coues. 'Henry-Thompson Journals.'

Catlin. 'North American Indians.'

#### *The Flathead Indians:*

Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Elliott Coues. 'Henry-Thompson Journals.'

Gabriel Franchère. 'Narrative of a Voyage,' &c.

Paul Kane. 'Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America.'

Patrick Gass's Journal.

*The Snake or Shoshone Indians:*

Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Coues. 'Henry-Thompson Journals.'

Maximilian. 'Travels in the Interior of North America.'

A general reference may be made, in connection with all these tribes, their manners, customs, language, habitat, &c., to that unrivalled storehouse of information, the Annual Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology of the United States.

It may be noted here that all references in foot-notes to Maximilian are to the edition included in R. G. Thwaites' 'Early Western Travels'; to Lewis & Clark, the J. K. Hosmer edition; to Gabriel Franchère's Narrative, J. V. Huntington's translation, 1854, except where otherwise specified; and to Harmon, the 1903 reprint. References to Lewis & Clark in the Bibliographical notes are understood to include also the Coues' and Thwaites' editions. The exhaustive notes added to these editions increase enormously the value of the work, from the historical, ethnographical, geographical and scientific points of view.

## JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS FROM MY LEAVING THE ASSINIBOIS<sup>1</sup> RIVER ON THE 2<sup>ND</sup> JUNE, 1805.

At my arrival at Riviere Fort de la Bosse<sup>2</sup> I prepared for going on a voyage of discovery to the Rocky Mountains and set of on the 2nd June with two men having each of us two horses, one of which was laden with goods to facilitate an intercourse with the Indians we might happen to see on our road. Mr. Charles McKenzie<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Lassana<sup>4</sup> set out with me to go & pass the summer at the Missouri, and having to pursue the same road we Kept Company as far as the B.B.<sup>5</sup> village.

Mr. McKenzie with the other men set of about at two in the afternoon, but I having [been] so very busy that I had not as yet been able to write my letters to my friends remained and wrote letters and settled some little business of my own. After

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1. One of the innumerable variants of the name Assiniboine. This main branch of the Red River has also borne various other names, the first of which was Rivière St. Charles, given by La Vérendrye, the first white man to stand upon its banks. In the manuscript map of David Thompson, astronomer of the Northwest Company, it is called Stone Indian River. See footnote, p. 45, Coues' 'Henry-Thompson Journals.'

2. Larocque elsewhere calls this trading post Mount a la Bosse.

3. McKenzie joined the Northwest Company in 1803 as an apprentice clerk, made an expedition to the Mandan villages on the Missouri in 1804, in which he was accompanied by Larocque, and, as above stated, again travelled with Larocque in 1805 as far as the Missouri. He made a third journey to the Mandans in the fall of the same year, and a fourth in 1806. His narratives of the four journeys are printed in Masson, V.I. See Masson's biographical note, p. 317, and Coues', p. 345.

4. No such name in Roderick McKenzie's list of 'Proprietors, clerks, interpreters, &c., of the Northwest Company, 1799,' nor in the 'Liste des bourgeois, commis, engagés, et voyageurs de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, après la fusion de 1804,' Masson, I, 395. May be intended for J. B. Lafrance, mentioned by Charles McKenzie as of the party.

5. Big Bellies, called by the French, Gros Ventres. The name has been applied at different times and by different writers to two quite distinct tribes: the Atsina (called Fall Indians by Umfreville, and Rapid Indians, by Alexander Henry), and the Minnetarees or Hidatsas. The former are of Algonquian, the latter of Siouan, stock.

sunset we supped & bidding farewell to Mr. Chabelly<sup>1</sup> & Henry<sup>2</sup> & to all the people, departed, every one being affected at our departure thinking it more than probable that I should not return with my men, and I confess I left the fort with a heavy heart but riding at a good rate I soon got chearful again, and thought of nothing but the [means] of ensuring success to my undertaking.

At 10 at night I arrived at the River aux Prunes<sup>3</sup> where I found the people encamped asleep.

Monday 3rd. I sat of early in the morning and stopped at 12 to refresh our horses, and encamped at night at River la Sourie,<sup>4</sup> where we had not been two hours encamped when three, and after many other Assiniboins rushed in upon us, a few endeavouring to take our horses, but seeing our guns and running to them we made them depart. They ran afterwards to our fire and seeing us well armed and by our looks that we would well defend ourselves and our property they remained quiet. There were 40 tents of them not 10 acres from us without that we had perceived them. I gave 1 fm. tobacco<sup>5</sup> to their Chief to make his young men smoke & engage them to remain peaceable. Some of them offered to accompany us to the Missouri, but upon being told that we would like it well they spoke no more of it.

1. Charles Jean-Baptiste Chaboillez, 'Bourgeois' or partner of the Northwest Company, at this time in charge of the Assiniboine department. See Masson, I, 81, and footnote; also Coues, p. 60, note.

2. Alexander Henry, known as *the Younger*, to distinguish him from his uncle, Alexander Henry, *the Elder*, whose 'Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories' was first published in 1809 (new ed. by Dr. James Bain, 1901.) The voluminous manuscript journals of Henry *the Younger* were edited by Dr. Elliott Coues, in conjunction with those of David Thompson, under the title, 'New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest,' New York, 1897. Chap. IX contains Henry's account of the Mandan Tour, 1806.

3. Pipestone river, or creek, a branch of the Souris river coming in from the west. I cannot find the name given by Larocque in this locality on any of the maps.

4. Elsewhere Larocque spells it River la Sourie. The Souris appears as Mouse river on some of the older maps.

5. The Brazil tobacco, so-called, used in trade by the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies, was prepared in the form of a rope, and cut off as required. Larocque cut off 1 fathom as a present to placate the Assiniboines. See Dr. Bain's note, p. 321, Henry's 'Travels and Adventures.' The fathom, according to Masson, was the French measure then in use in the Northwest, *une brasse*.



Thinking it hower not prudent to pass the night so close to them we saddled our horses and departed although they did all in their power of engaging us to sleep at those tents. One of them conducted us to a good fording place of River la Sourie which we crossed striking in the plain. We walked all night to come out of their reach for they are worst cunning horse thieveve that ever I said or heard of. A little before day light we stopped and took a nap.

Tuesday 4th. We proceeded on our journey early in the morning having very fine weather all day, and at night encamped on the banks of the River la Sourie at a place called Green River<sup>1</sup> for its havin no wood on its side for about 30 miles. We saw no other animals but four cabois<sup>2</sup> of which we killed two.

Wednesday 5th. We followed the Green River till eleven O'clock when we arrived at the woods, where being an appearance of rainy weather we encamped. There was no Buffalo in seight. At 12 it began to rain and continued hard and uninterruptedly until next morning. Here we saw plenty of wild fowls, Ducks, Bustards, Geese, Swans, &c., and killed a number of them.

Thursday 6th. There being an appearance of fine weather, we sat off and walked about three miles, when the weather being cloudy we stopped to encamp, but before we could make a hut for our goods the rain began again, and fell amasingly hard so that in a few hours every hollows or valley in the plains were full of water, and every brook or creek was swollen to rivers. There were plenty of Buffaloes and the rain ceasing in the evening we killed a very fat young bull<sup>3</sup> and a fat Elk deer. At night the rain began again and continued without intermission until morning.

Friday 7th. The weather continued cloudy, but the sun appearing now and then we hoped for fair weather and past of

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1. Cut Bank creek, rising close to the International Boundary, and joining the Souris in the southern part of Bottineau county, N.D. Alexander Henry calls it Rivière Plé.

2. Elsewhere Larocque spells it caribo. The animal referred to is the familiar American antelope, *Antilocapra americana*.

3. 'In the early part of the season,' says Alexander Ross in his 'Red River Settlement,' 'the bulls are fat and the cows lean; but in the autumn the case is the reverse, the bulls are lean and the cows fat.'

but as yesterday it began to rain at 12, at two we found some wood on some sandy hills in the plains where we stopped to cook our goods, being completely trenched [drenched]. There being no water on the sand hills, we raised a Bark of Elm tree and pulling one end in a Kettle, the other end a little higher, all the water that fell on the Bark ran into the kettle and we had presently a sufficient quantity; we also made a tent with bark and passed the night comfortably enough.

Saturday 8th. We sat of to go to a hill called Grosse Butte<sup>1</sup> to dry our things, and water our horses, but their being none here, arrived there two hours and a half where we stopped for the remainder of the day & night. The Grosse Butte is a high hill which is seen at 20 miles off on either side. At its foot on the north side is a Lake of about 8 miles in circumference in which there are middle sized pikes. Between the Lake and the hill there is some wood chiefly Elm; all around are many lakes, which by the late rain communicated with each other. From the top of the hill the turtle mountain<sup>2</sup> was seen being due North, River la Sourie likewise was of in N.N.E. and south and south west, being seen on all sides of the hill excepted west.

Sunday 9th. We sat of early in the morning, in a course S.S.W. and at 1 o'clock in the afternoon we arrived on the Bank of the River la Sourie.<sup>3</sup> The water being amazing high we made a raft to cross our things over the River and the horses swam over. We saddled immediately and encamped in a Coulé<sup>4</sup> about three miles from the River.

Monday 10th. Leaving this we went and slept in the Mandan plain,<sup>5</sup> saw plenty of buffaloes all along, but did not dare

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1. The position of this hill is sufficiently indicated in the next paragraph. Dr. Coues identifies Grosse Butte with present White Rock hill, North Dakota.

2. Turtle Mountain is a well-known landmark, lying across the parallel of 49°, partly in Canadian and partly in United States territory. It is constantly referred to in the journals of fur-traders and explorers, the old Indian thoroughfare between the Assiniboine and the Missouri passing around it to the westward.

3. He crosses the Souris about its most southerly point, where it is nearest to the Missouri.

4. A deep gully. This is probably one of the earliest instances of the use of the term.

5. The Côteau du Missouri, or tableland separating the waters of the Missouri from those of the Assiniboine.

to fire at them, being on the enemies lands is Sioux.<sup>1</sup> It rained a little in the night.

Tuesday 11th. At 8 in the morning I saw the banks of the Missouri,<sup>2</sup> at 12 arrived at the River Bourbeuse,<sup>3</sup> when we unsad[dl]ed our horses where we unloaded our horses and crossed the property on our shoulders there being not more than 2 feet of water, but we sunk up to our middle in mud, the horses bemired themselves in crossing and it was with difficulty we got them over the bank beings bogs as also the bed of the river. We intended to get the villages today but being overtaken by a Shower of rain we encamped in a coulé at the Serpent lodge,<sup>4</sup> being a winter village of the B. Belly's at the Elbow of the River, where I passed part of last winter. Being unwilling to untie my things before the Indians of the village as I was necessarily be put to some expence I took here a small equipment of different article for present expense, as the sight of my goods would perhaps cause the B. B. to refuse our passage to the Rocky Mountains.

Wednesday 12th. I arrived at 9 o'clock in the morning on the banks of the Missury, fired a few shots to inform the indians of our being there and in a few hours many came over with Canoes to cross us and our things. Lafrance proceeded to the Mandans<sup>5</sup> but I and my men with Mr. McKenzie crossed here at the B. Belly's & entered into dift lodges, gave my men

1. All this country west of Red River and between the boundary and the Missouri was Sioux territory. The traveller, white or red, who came this way, stepped warily. It was as well not to meet these fierce and crafty warriors of the plains. When Alexander Henry ascended Red River in 1800 he had the greatest difficulty in preventing his men from turning back, when they reached the borders of the Sioux country.

2. Charles McKenzie, and others, spell it Mississouri; Alexander Henry, Missourie. Other variants are found in narratives and journals of the period.

3. Miry Creek of Lewis & Clark, now Snake Creek, flows S.W. into the Missouri, in McLean County.

4. Loge de Serpent, in Henry's narrative, and still known as the Snakes Den. A bold bluff at the mouth of Snake Creek.

5. No American tribe, with the possible exception of the Iroquois, has excited more interest and curiosity than the Mandans. Certain peculiarities in their language, habits, and physical appearance have given rise to much speculation as to their origin. The first white man to visit the Mandans was Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de La Vérendrye, the narrative of whose journey will be found in the Archives Report, 1889, pp. 2-29. John McDonnell records what appears to be the earliest visit of British traders to the Mandans. (Masson, I, 273.)



each a small equipment of Knives Tobacco and ammunition to give the landlords.<sup>1</sup>

Thursday 13th. Three Assiniboinis arrived in the evening. 4 Canadians from the Illinois, who are hunting Beaver in these parts, came to see me. I gave each of them 6 inches of [Brazil] Tobacco which pleased them very much as they had for several months not smoked any but Indian Tobacco.

Fryday 14th. The indians here are exceedingly troublesome to sell their horses to us, the prise that we usually pay them for a horse can purchas two from the Rocky Mountain Indians who are expected daily, & they would wish us to have more goods when those Indians arrive, so as to have the whole trade themselves. I told them that the purpose of our coming was not to purchase horses either from them or the Rocky Mountains, that we came for Skins and Robes and that for that purpose one of us was to pass the summer with them and one at the Mandans; that I and two men were sent by the white people's Chief<sup>2</sup> to smoke a pipe of peace & amity with the Rocky Mountain Indians and to accompany them to their lands to examine them and see if there were Beavers as is reported & to engage them to hunt it, that we would not purchase a horse from none, therefore that their best plan would be to dress Buffalo Robes, so as to have ammunition to trade with the Rocky Mountain Indians.

They pretend to be in fear of the surrounding nations, that is Assineboines,<sup>3</sup> Sioux,<sup>4</sup> Cheyennes<sup>5</sup> & Ricaras,<sup>6</sup> so as to have an

1. The traders were usually guests of some leading member of the tribe, but remuneration in the form of gifts was always expected and given.

2. In this case, the *bourgeois* Chaboillez. For the native attitude toward the 'white people's Chief' see Masson, I, 383-4.

3. See the manuscript journals and letters of Pierre de La Vérendrye and his sons, in the Dominion Archives. See footnote, pp. 269-70, 'Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, I (1876, 2nd ed.); Maximilian, I, 387 *et seq.* The Assinibiines were of Siouan stock.

4. The earliest accounts of the Naudowessi or Sioux are contained in the Jesuit Relations. Other records of the same period are the Letters of Daniel Greyselon Du Lhut and Father Guignas (Dominion Archives, 'Posts in the Western Sea,' Vol. 16); and the Voyages of Pierre Esprit Radisson (Prince Society, 1885); and Pike's 'Expeditions to Headwaters of the Mississippi' (Coues' ed.), I, 341 *et seq.*

5. Charles Mackenzie calls them Shawyens or Chawyens, and describes a visit to their country, in his Fourth Expedition (Masson, I, 373 *et seq.*) An earlier account of the same tribe is found in La Vérendrye's 1742-44 Journal already cited. They belong to the Algonquin family.

6. Originally Pawnees, who settled on the Missouri below the Cheyennes, and later moved down to the neighbourhood of the Mandans.

excuse for not trading their guns with the Rocky Mountain Indians, and likewise to prevent us. Some of those Rocky Mountain Indians have been here already and are gone back, but more are expected, with whom I intend to go.

Saturday 15th. I was sent for by one of the Chiefs who asked me what I intended to do with the pipe stem I had brought, upon my telling him that it was for the Rocky Mountain Indians he made a long harangue to dissuade me from going there, saying that I would be obliged to winter there on account of the length of the way, that the Cayennes and Ricaras were enemies and constantly on the Road, and that it was probable we should be killed by them. He gave the worst character possible to the Rocky Mountain Indians, saying they were thieves and liar, of which he gave an example that is of a Canadian of the name of Menard,<sup>1</sup> who had lived here about 40 years and a few years ago sett of to go to the Rocky Mountains to trade horses and Beavers, these Indians did all in their power to prevent him, but seeing him absolutely bent upon going they let him go, he arrived at the Rocky Mountain Indians tents, where he was well treated, & got 9 horses and 2 female slaves, besides a quantity of Beaver, he left the lodge very well pleased, but were followed by some young men who in the night stole 7 horses, a few nights after his 2 Slaves deserted with the other horses and other young men coming took from him everything he had even to his knife, he came crying to the B. B. Village almost dead having but his robe to make shoes (with flint stone) which he tied about his feet with cords, which so pained the B. B. that they killed some of the Roche Mountain<sup>2</sup> for revenge & &. he told me many other stories, to all which I answered that my Chief had sent me to go, and that I would or die.

There is seven nights that 5 young men are gone to meet the Rocky Mountain Indians, they are expected dayly & the Rocky Mountain with them.

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1. Probably the same Menard who, according to Alexander Henry, 'was pillaged and murdered by three Assiniboines in 1803, on his way to the Missouri.'

2. i.e., Rocky Mountain Indians.

Sunday 16th. This Evening the Indian women danced the scalp of a Black feet<sup>1</sup> Indian which they killed the last spring. The Canadians from below said they had killed some white men at the same time, that they had seen cloths such as Corduroy Jackets and trousers, collars shirts, part of Linnen Tents, Casimer<sup>2</sup> waist coats, and many other things belonging to the whites. The Borgne<sup>3</sup> the Great Chief of this pillage told me that war party had fired upon and killed people who were going down a very large River, in skin canoes,<sup>4</sup> but that they could not tell whether they were Crees<sup>5</sup> or Sauteux<sup>6</sup> or whites. I spoke to old Cerina Grape<sup>7</sup> the father of the Chief of that party, and to the Chief himself, they prove by the fire, Earth and Heaven that they were not whites. They made a plan of the Country through which they passed, and in my opinion it is some where [about] the Sas Ratchewini<sup>8</sup> or its branches. They showed me part of what they plundered but I saw nothing that could prove them to have killed Whites except the quantity of gun powder he had, for it was no less than half a Keg and at lease 200 balls. Their plunder was parted among all the warriors and their relations. Among the articles that the Cerina Grappe showed me there was a Coat made of the skin of a young horse wrought with

1. The earliest account of the Blackfeet is contained in the Journal of Anthony Hendry (Trans., Royal Society of Canada, 1907.) See also Matthew Cocking's Journal. (Trans. Royal Society of Canada, 1908.)

2. *i.e.*, Cashmere.

3. This very remarkable Indian figures prominently in all contemporary Missouri narratives. See Charles Mackenzie's *Mississouri Indians* (Masson, I); Henry-Thompson Journals, pp. 259, 322, 346, etc.; Lewis & Clark, ch. vi and xviii.

4. The 'bull-boat' of the Missouri and Saskatchewan, of which an excellent representation is given in one of Bodmer's plates (Maximilian's Travels.)

5. The Crees, of Algonquian stock, covered in Larocque's day an immense territory. Under the name of Christineaux, or its innumerable variants: Cristinapx, Kilistinaux, Kinistines, Knistineaux, and so forth, this numerous tribe is constantly referred to in the Jesuit Relations and the narratives of fur-traders, explorers and travellers, down to the close of the period of French rule in Canada, and later. They were found anywhere around Lake Superior, the Red River country, Lake Winnipeg, sometimes as far west as the upper Missouri and the South Saskatchewan, and north-west even to the Peace River and the Mackenzie.

6. Chippewas, sometimes known as Ojibways. Of Algonquian stock.

7. Not elsewhere referred to under this name.

8. Saskatchewan. In La Vérendrye's day it went under a different name, variously spelled, Poskoia, Pasquayah, Basquia, etc.

porcupine quills and human hair, 2 skunk skins guarnished with red stroud and blue beads which those Indians generally wear round their ancles, one musket by Ketland one gun by Barnett,<sup>1</sup> and lastly one scalp which was evidently that of an Indian. But I really believe they have Killed some white people about fort des prairies<sup>2</sup> for they brought more goods than ever I saw in the possession of Indians at one time.

Monday 17th. I went down to the Mondan Village on horse back and purchased a saddle there for which I paid 30 lbs ammunition desired Lafrance to get some provision made for my voyage as there is no corn where I live.<sup>3</sup> I returned home to my lodge. In the evening having settled some business with a man of the name of Jusseaux<sup>4</sup> who was indebted to the Company.

Tuesday 18th. The son of the White Wolf fell from his horse and bruised his leg terribly, the flesh was taken clean of the bone from the ancle, round the leg to the calf. The Indian doctor was sent for who began his cure by blowing and singing while the child suffered quietly. Thunder storm.

Wednesday 19th. There being another sick person in my Lodge and there being rather too much fuss about medicines, conjuring & singing I went & lived in another lodge where I had placed one of my men before. Went to see the Borgne our Chief and being desirous that he should stand by me in case of need I made him a present of  $\frac{3}{4}$  lb. Tobacco, one knife and 50 Rounds of amunition at which he was well pleased—he is the greatest Chief in this place, but does not talk against our going to the Rocky Mountains as the other Chiefs do—Thunder and rain at night.

Thursday 20th. I was again teased by some of the Chief to purchase horses and was told the Big Bellys had two hearts<sup>5</sup> and that they not know whether they would allow me to go to

1. Well-known English makers of the period.

2. Several different trading posts on the Saskatchewan bore this name. The one mentioned by Larocque was on the South Saskatchewan.

. That is, on the Assiniboine.

4. Mentioned by Masson as having resided in the Missouri country as an independent trader for over fifteen years, and as having served as guide and interpreter to Mr. David Thompson in his voyage of exploration of 1797.

5. Or as we would say, were of two minds.



the Rocky Mountains, and in the course of a long harangue they made use of all their art to induce me not to go representing the journey as dangerous to the last degree and that the Rocky Mountain would not come, for they were afraid of the Bicaras & Assiniboines to all which I could make no answer but by signs, as there was no one present that could speak to them properly, one of my men of the name of Souci<sup>1</sup> spoke the Sioux language but there was no one there that understood that language. About [noon] two of the young B. B. that had been sent to meet the Rocky Mountains arrived, they left the Rocky Mountain Indians in the morning and they will be here in 3 or 4 days. Upon the receipt of those news, the Chief pretended to have received information that the Crils<sup>2</sup> & Assiniboines were assembled to come and war upon them (which is false) and harangues were made to the people to keep their guns and ammunitions and not to trade them with the Rocky Mountain Indians, &c. All this I believe a scheme to prevent me from going, for as yet they do not like to tell me so exactly, but are for ever saying that they have two hearts which means that they are undetermined in what manner to act.

Fryday 21st. I went to see the Borgne enquired of him what he and the Big Bellys thought of our going to the Rocky Mountains and whether they have a mind to prevent us. He answered to my wish, that the Rocky Mountains were good people, that they had plenty of Beaver on their hands, and that his adopted son, one of the Chiefs of the Rocky Mountains & the greater would take care of us, for that he would strongly recommend to him to put the white people in his heart and watch over them. I told him that the B. B. had no reason to be displeased for that one of us remains with them who has plenty of amunition, Knives, tobacco, Hatchets and other articles, where with to supply their wants, whenever they would be disposed to trade. He said it was true that none would molest us.<sup>3</sup> He is the only Chief that speaks so, but as he has the most

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1. Pierre Saucie's name is included under the department of *Haut de la Rivière Rouge*, in the *Liste des bourgeois*, etc., at the end of vol. I of Masson.

2. Another variant of the name Crees.

3. Charles Mackenzie's version of this speech is found in Masson I, 344.

authority of any I hope by his means we will pass. A certain method to get the road clear would be to assemble the Chiefs, make them a present of Tobacco and amunition, make them smoke & speak to them what occasion I may have for them in future. I like not to do it only when I see that I cannot otherwise for assembling a Council and haranging without a present is no better than speaking to a heap of stones. Besides I am apprehensive that paying as it were for our first going to these nations will give a footing to the B. Bellys which they will endeavour to improve every time we should go there if a trading interest takes place. So we pass this time without making them any present at all, I believe it will be done away for ever. If the Borgne retains that authority he formerly had he alone will be able to clear the Road for us and he appears to be sincerely our friend.

Saturday 22nd. In the beginning I went to an Indian's tent whose two sons had been in that party that defeated the White on the Saskatchion, he gave me a full account and more like truth than any other. He says there were four Linnen tents and four leather on the sides of the River where there were Skin Canoes; they fired upon the largest leather tent and Killed three men, two of whom were Indians, the other they believe to be a White man but not certain. They brought one scalp & if it is that which they showed me, it is an Indian. There was plenty of tents of all kinds besides goods. What they could not take with them, they broke and threw in the River.

Sunday 23rd. Three men and one woman arrived from the Rocky Mountains about noon, the other are near hand and would have arrived today but for rain which fell in the evening.

In the evening I went to see the Brother of the Borgne, where I found two Rocky Mountain Indians, one of whom was the Chief of whom the Borgne had spoken with me.<sup>1</sup> I smoked with them for some time when the Borgne told them that I was going with them and spoke very much in our favor. They appeared to be very well pleased.

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1. 'Le Borgne,' says Charles Mackenzie, 'sent for us in order to introduce Mr. La Rocque to the Rocky Mountain Chief, whose name is *Nakesinia*, or Red Calf.' Masson, I, 345.

Monday 24th. Lafrance, with the other white people from below who reside at the Mandans came to see the people which were arrived from the Rocky Mountains, who were prevented from coming by appearance of bad weather. It thundered the whole day but it did not rain. I gave a small knife to my Land Lady.

Tuesday 25th. About one in the afternoon the Rock Mountain Indians arrived, they encamped at a little distance from the village with the warriors, to the number of 645, passed through the village on horseback with their shields & other warlike implements,<sup>1</sup> they proceeded to the little village,<sup>2</sup> Souliers<sup>3</sup> and then to the Mandans and returned. There did not remain 20 person in the village, men women and children all went to the newly arrived camp carrying a quantity of Corn raw and cooked which they traded for Leggings, Robes and dried meat. There are 20 lodges of the snake Indians<sup>4</sup> & about 40 men. The other bands are more numerous.

This morning the Borgne sent for me, he showed me the Rocky Mountain Chief of the Ererokas,<sup>5</sup> and told him before me that I was going with him & to take good care of us & he

1. Mackenzie gives a more spirited account of the arrival of the Rocky Mountain Indians. 'They consisted,' he says, 'of more than three hundred tents, and presented the handsomest sight that one could imagine; all on horseback, children of small size were lashed to the saddle and those above the age of six could manage a horse. The women had wooden saddles, most of the men had none. There were a great many horses for the baggage and the whole, exceeding two thousand, covered a large space of ground, and had the appearance of an army. They halted on a rising ground behind the village, and, having formed a circle, the chief addressed them; they then descended full speed, rode through the village, exhibiting their dexterity in horsemanship in a thousand shapes. I was astonished to see their agility and address, and I do believe they are the best riders in the world. They were dressed in leather and looked clean and neat; some wore beads and rings as ornaments. Their arms were bows and arrows, lances and round stones enclosed in leather and slung to a shank in the form of a whip; they made use of shields, and they have a few guns.'

2. The Minnetaree village called Metaharta by Lewis & Clark, and Awatichay by Maximilian. It was on the south side of Knife river, and was the residence of Le Borgne.

3. The Amahami, called by the French traders Gens des Souliers, or Souliers Noirs.

4. Shoshone Indians. They were known as the Snake Indians to Henry and other writers of the period. Their habitat was about the headwaters of the Missouri or its branches.

5. 'The Crows,' says Granville Stuart, 'are called Absarokis, or Upsaroka.' (Contr. Hist. Soc., Montana, I, 274.)



spoke very much in our favour telling me that the B. Bellys were undetermined whether they would allow us to go or not, but that we would go if we liked it for that he would clear the road before us if necessary. I gave to two of the Ererokas each 6 [feet] of tobacco and 20 Rounds of amunitions.

Wednesday 26th. The Mandans, Souliers, little village people & the people of the Village, went on horse back and arrived to perform the same ceremonies round the Rocky Mountain Camp, as the Rocky Mountains did yesterday here,<sup>1</sup> they were about 500, but a great many Warriors are absent being gone to war.

Thursday 27th. Assembled the Chiefs of the different Bands of the Rock Mountains and made them a present of

2 Large Axes	16 large Knives
2 Small Axes	12 Small do
8 Ivory Combs	2 lbs. Vermillion
10 Wampum Shells	8 doz. Rings
8 fire steels and Flint	4 papers co'd Glasses
4 cassetête <sup>3</sup>	4 Doz. Awls
6 Masses B. C. Beads <sup>2</sup>	1½ lb. Blue Beads
4 f. Tobacco	2 Doz. do
8 Cock feathers	1000 balls & powder

Made them smoke in a stem<sup>4</sup> which I told them was that of the Chief of the White people who was desirous of making them his Children & Brethren, that he knew they were pitiful and had no arms to defend themselves from their enemies, but that they should cease to be pityful as soon as they would make themselves brave hunters. That I and two men were going with them to see their lands and that we took with us some articles to supply their present want. that our Chief sent them those goods that lay before them, to make them listen to what we were now telling them, that he expected they would treat all white people as their Brethren for that we were in peace and

1. Masson, I, 345.

2. 'B.C.' probably stands for 'Blue Canton.' John McDonnell speaks of '6 bunches blue beads,' and Larocque (in Masson) buys a dog for, among other things, '13 china beads.'

3. In his Missouri Journal (Masson, I, 309) Larocque has '1 casse-tête à calumet, the familiar combination of tomahawk and pipe.

4. i.e., pipe.

friendship with the Red skined people and did not go about to get a scalp, that probably they would see White people on their lands from another quarter but that they were our brethern and of course we expected they would not hurt them, that a few years ago they pillaged and ill treated a white man who went to trade with them,<sup>1</sup> that we would see how they would treat us and if they have behaved well towards us and kill Beavers, Otters & Bears they would have white people on the lands in a few year, who would winter with them and supply them with all their wants & &. I told them many other things which I thought was necessary and closed the Harangue by making them smoke the Medicin Pipe.<sup>2</sup> They thanked [me] and make a present of 6 robes, one Tyger<sup>3</sup> skin, 4 shirts, 2 women Cotillons<sup>4</sup> 2 dressed Elk skins, 3 saddles and 13 pair leggins. I clothed the Chief of the Errerokas at the same time<sup>5</sup> and gave him a flag and a Wanpoon Belt and told them that our Chief did not expect that we would pass many different nations and therefore had sent but one Chief Clothing, but that in the course of the summer we would fix upon a spot most convenient for them all where we would build & trade with them, if we saw that they wished to encourage the white people to go on their lands by being good hunters and that then all their Chiefs who would behave well would get a Coat.

The ceremony of adopting Children was going on at the same time, but I was so very bussy that I could not attend, but about the middle of the ceremony, and therefore can give but an imperfect account of it from my own observation, but as the two people were present I will give an account of it in another place.

Fryday 28th. I preferred to go of in the evening to the lodge of the Erreroka Chief in order to be ready with them in

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1. The unfortunate Menard, before mentioned.

2. Throughout all the tribes the medicine pipe was held in high veneration, and the smoking of this pipe formed an important feature of all treaties or meetings with other Indians or Whites.

3. The puma (*Felis concolor*), also known as the panther or mountain lion, or the wildcat (*Lynx rufus fasciatus*.)

4. Petticoats. One cotillon was valued at 7 beaver skins. See Roderick McKenzie's Reminiscences. (Masson, I, 14; also I, 87.)

5. The presentation of a Chief's Clothing formed an important part of a visit to or from a new tribe. What the clothing consisted of may be gathered from James McKenzie's Journal (Masson, II, 384.)

the morning but he and the other Chiefs were called to a farewell Council in the Borgnes Lodge so that I did not stir.

Saturday 29th. Saddled our horses and left the B. Belly village. we remained about half an hour in the Rocky Mountain Camp where they threw down their tents and all sat of. We marched along the Knife River<sup>1</sup> for about eight miles when we stopped and encamped. The Borgne and many other B. Belly's came and slept with us.

Sunday 30th. We followe a south course for about 4 mile and stoped to dine and resumed a S.S.W. course and encamped for night, Knife River in Sight when no hills intervenned, about 6 miles on our right, a thunder storm in the evening.

July 1st, Monday. We sat [out] at 8 o'clock in the morning and encamped at 12 having followed a South West course; we crossed three small creeks running North and N. East into the Knife River. It began to rain as soon as the lodges were pitched and continued so all day. The Indians hunted and Killed a few Bulls. I gave the people of my lodge a few articles, as Beeds, Knives.

Tuesday 2nd. We sat out at 9 o'clock followed a south Course and encamped at 2 after noon. It thundered very much the whole of the afternoon and at sun set there fell such a shower of hail as I never saw before, some of the hail stones being as large as hen eggs and the rest as a Yolk; they fell with amazing violence and broke down several tents. The wind during the storm was West, it breessed to the North and continued during the whole night.

Wednesday 3rd. We continued our journey for about 4 hours, through a very hilly country and encamped at the foot of a very high Hill on the top of which I ascended, but could see at no considerable distance, another range of hills surrounding this on all sides. I lost my spy glass in coming down the hill and could not find it again. Our course was south.

Thursday 4th. We stopped after a south course for the

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1. Knife River enters the Missouri from the south about long. 101° 20' W. The village from which Larocque and his friends the Crows have just departed was on the S. side of Knife River, about half a mile above its mouth. The party are therefore marching along the north bank of the river.

night on the side of a small hill at a Creek<sup>1</sup> which empties in the Missouri above the Panis<sup>2</sup> village about 5 leagues distant from our last encampment having crossed another a little before emptying in the Missury about one mile below the Mandans. The Scouts reported that Buffaloes were at hand.

Fryday 5th. We discovered a thief last night in the act of stealing a gun from under our loads thinking we were asleep. The Chief sent two young men to sleep behind the lodge and guard our property. After three hours and a half march in a southerly direction we espied Buffaloes, and stopped all. The Chief harangued and the young men set out to hunt after which we marched on for about a league and a half and encamped. There was no Creek or River here for water only a few ponds of stagnant water which by reason of so many dogs and horses bathing in them was not drinkeable being as thick as mud.

Saturday 6th. A Big Belly found my spy glass and returned it to me, we set of at 8. At 11 the scouts reported that they had seen enemies. We all stopped, the men armed themselves and mounting their fleetest horses went in pursuit. they returned in a few hours, as what the scouts had taken for ennemies were a party of their own people who were gone hunting and not been seen. We proceeded and encamped at one on the side of a small River running West and emptying in the lasser Missouri<sup>3</sup> It blew a hurricane in the evening. Course south about four leagues.

Sunday 7th. At ten O'Clock we rose the Camp and at 3 we saw Buffaloes, harangues were made to the Young Men to go and hunt while a party of these latter who are a guard of soldiers<sup>4</sup> paraded before the body of the people preventing any

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1. Heart river, which empties into the Missouri a little to the east of long. 101°.

2. Pawnees. For history and description of this tribe see Henry, I, 334; Lewis and Clark (Hosmer ed.), I, 35-36; Coues' 'Pike,' II, 532 *et seq*; Catlin, II, 27.

3. Lesser Missouri, or Little Missouri, as it is more generally known; joins Missouri long. 102° 15'.

4. Most of the migratory prairie tribes subjected themselves to some form of discipline on the march as well as in their temporary camps, and appointed a species of police to keep order. See La Vérendrye (Journal, Archives, 1889), and Henry *the Elder* (Bain's ed., 294) as to the Assiniboines; Hendry's Journal (R.S.C., 1907) as to the Blackfeet; Maximilian describes similar soldiers or police among the Mandans.



one from setting off till all the huntsmen were gone; after which we set off again and encamped at the foot of a hill, which we had in sight since the day before yesterday. Course S. West about 18 miles.

Monday 8th. Before we rose the camp a general muster of all the guns in the Camp was taken and the number found to be 204 exclusive of ours. Our huntsmen had brought in a plenty of Buffaloes. We marched this day by a south Course about 7 miles.

Tuesday 9th. From the Big Belly village to the place I lost my spy glass the country was very hilly, from that to this place it was much more upon a level though not entirely so. The plains produce plenty of fine grass. In the course of this days journey we passed between two big hills on the top of which as far as the eye could discern Buffalo were seen in amazing number, we camped on the side of a small Creek running West into the lesser Missouri. The Indian hunted and killed many Buffaloes. Course South S. West & S. W. 9 miles. It blew a hurricane at night without rain. Many lodges were thrown down although well tied and picketted.

Wednesday 10th. We remained the greatest part of the day at this place to dry the meat and bury a woman that died here, and sat of at 4 in the afternoon and pitched the tents by a small creek running west after having pursued our road S. W. by West for 5 miles. The Country was hilly but producing plenty of grass and numberless flowers of different Kinds.<sup>1</sup>

Thursday 11th. We passed through a range of hills of about 3 miles broad, on the top of every one was a heap of stones appearing as if burnt, part of the rocks had fallen down the hills. Leaving those hills we had a pretty level plain till we reach a small brook running N. West where we encamped, the lesser Missouri in Sight at about 4 miles on our right, by a course south west, we had advanced about 12 miles. On our way we saw a few Rattle Snakes but none of them very large; they are the first I saw in the Indian countries and none are to be found more northwards.

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1. See Maximilian's list of plants collected in the Missouri country, at the end of his work.

Fryday 12th. This day we passed through a pleasant plain and pitched the tents by a small brook 5 miles S. W. of our last encampment.

Saturday 13th. We set of at 9 through hilly and barren Country, in crossing two small Creeks, and arrived at 12 on the bank of lesser Missouri. we crossed it and encamped on its border about 2 miles higher. The River is here about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an acre in breadth from bank to bank but there is very little water running, the bed appearing dry in many places and is of sand and gravel. A few liards<sup>1</sup> scattered thinly along its banks. The rugged and barren aspect of the hills which are composed of Whitish Clay looking lik rocks at a distance. The ground on which [we] stood [was covered] with a prickly heap of. . . . .<sup>2</sup> so very thick that one does not know where to set ones feet, no grass at all. The whole forms a prospect far from pleasing. Our Course was for 12 miles S.S.W. A few days ago a child being sick I gave him a few drops of Turlington balsam<sup>3</sup> which eased him immediately of his cholic. This cure gave me such a reputation of being a great phisician that I am plagered to cure every distemper in the camp. A man came today to me desiring me to act the man mid wife to his wife.

Sunday 14th. We remained the whole day here the Indians being bussy with drying meat. I went a little distance up the River and saw a little Beaver work.

Monday 15th. We crossed the river at three different times in the Course of this days journey when it happened to intersect the line of our course which was S.S.W. and encamped on its borders about 14 miles higher up. It has the same appearance in every respect as when we arrived at it. The indiens Killed a few Beavers of which I got two dressed by my men to show them how to do it.

Tuesday 16th. We remained here the whole day. The indians tried to dance the Bull dance in imitation of the B. Belley's but did it very ill.

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1. *Populus balsamifera*, the familiar cottonwood of the western plains. The French word gave a name to the great branch of the Mackenzie River.

2. Blank in original.

3. An old English remedy still in use.

Wednesday 17th. It rained in the morning, at 11 before noon the weather clearing up, we sat of following the river in a Course S.S West about 9 miles. The bed and Banks in many places were solid Rock; there is very little water running. There is a few trees in the decline of the hill here.

Thursday 18th. I went hunting with the Chief while the camp flitted, we killed one cow and returned to the river at 3 in the after noon where we found the people encamped 15 miles S.W. of our last encampment. The banks and bed of the river are rocks; the plains are a continual series of high rocky hills whose sides and tops are partly covered with the red pine and other wood such as poplar, Elm, Ash, and a kind of Maple.

Fryday 19th. We [stopped] at an hour before sun set and encamped 5 miles higher up the river.

Saturday 20th. Some one being sick we did not stir. Here the point of the River was pretty large and well stocked with wood, viz. Liard, Ash and a kind of shrub resembling the prickly Ash which bears a fruit of the size of a small pea, red and of a sourish taste but not disagreeable.

Sunday 21st. The Camp rose at 8 in the morning and proceeded along the River for about 15 miles in a S.S. Westerly direction; the banks and bed of the river are of soil but muddy. I saw a beaver lying dead on the banks, here the river is fordable, without wetting ones feet in stepping over upon loose large stones, as we trotted almost the whole of this day's journey the unusual jolting of the Packages on the horses back occasioned the breaking of my thermometre. From this place we left the lesser Missouri on our left, its Course above this appears to be South to north, and stopping in the plains we encamped at one in the after noon on the side of a little river running into the lesser Missouri our course S.W. The Banks of L. M. [Lesser Missouri] in sight. We crossed two small Creeks in which there was no running water but many deep ponds in which there are Beavers. We saw this day plenty of Buffaloes.

We remained at this place 2 days. I have been very sick since some time, and so weak that it was difficult I could keep my saddle, the Indians on that occasion did not flit. I traded a few Beavers.

Thursday 25th. We sat of this morning at 10 following the little Creek on which we were encamped for 4 miles by a S.W. course and encamped. Wind S.E.

Fryday 26th. We passed through a Range of hills<sup>1</sup> whose tops and sides are covered with pine, and at the foot are many small creeks well wooded with Ash and Maple, there are plenty of different kinds of mint here which emit a very odoriferant smell. We crossed three small Creeks running north and N. W. into the Powder River<sup>2</sup> whose banks we had in sight from the top of those hills. The wind was N.W. & very strong, a hurricane blew at night. The course we have pursued on a very barren soil for 22 Miles was West.

Saturday 27th. We arrived at noon at the Powder River after 6 hours ride by course West by South for about 20 miles. The Powder River is here about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an acre in breadth, its waters middling deep, but it appears to have risen lately as a quantity of leaves and wood was drifting on it. The points of the river are large with plenty of full grown trees, but no underwood, so that on our arrival we perceived diverse herds of Elk Deers<sup>3</sup> through the woods. There are Beaver dams all along the river. Three of these animals have been felled by our Indians.

When we arrived here the plains on the western side of the river were covered with Buffaloes and the bottoms full of Elk and Jumping deers<sup>4</sup> & Bears which last are mostly yellow and very fierce.<sup>5</sup> It is amazing how very barren the ground is between this and the lesser Missouri, nothing can hardly be seen but those *Corne de Raquettes*.<sup>6</sup> Our horses were nearly starved. There is grass in the woods but none in the plains which by the by might with more propriety be called hills, for though there is very little wood it is impossible to find a level spot of one or two miles in extent except close to the River. The current in

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1. Powder River Mountains.

2. A branch of the Yellowstone. Rises in Wyoming, among the Big Horn Mountains, and joins the Yellowstone about lat. 46° 46' N.

3. *Cervus canadensis*, the American elk or wapiti. The French traders and trappers called it *la biche*; hence the lake of that name frequently mentioned in Henry's Journal.

4. Antelope (*Antilocapra americana*). See previous note.

5. Grizzly bear (*Ursus horribilis*).

6. Probably the dogwood (*Cornus*).



that river is very strong and the water so muddy as to be hardly drinkable. The Indians say it is always so, and that is the reason they call it Powder River, from the quantity of drifting fine sand set in motion by the coast<sup>1</sup> wind which blinds people and dirtys the water. There are very large sand shoals along the river for several acres breadth and length, the bed of the river is likewise sand, and its Course North East.

Sunday 28th. We remained here the whole day to let the horses feed, the women were bussily employed in dressing and drying the skins of those animals that were Killed Yesterday. I traded one 3 Beavers and one Bear skin.

Monday 29th. We rose the Camp late in the evening and pitched the tents about 4 miles higher up the river having followed for that short space a course S.W.

Tuesday 30th. Early this morning we set out; the body of the people followed the river for about 17 miles S.W. while I with the Chief and a few others went hunting. We wounded Cabrio, Buffalow, and the large horned animal,<sup>2</sup> but did not Kill any, which made the Chief say that some one had thrown bad medicin<sup>3</sup> on our guns and that if he could Know him he would surely die.

The Country is very hilly about the river, but it does not appear to be so much so towards the North. About two miles above the encampment a range of high hills begins on the west side of the River, and Continues North for about 20 miles, when it appears to finish. The tongu River<sup>4</sup> is close on the other side of it. There is a parting ridge between the two Rivers.

I assended some very high hills on the side of which I found plenty of shells of the Cornu amonys Species<sup>5</sup> by some called snake shell, likewise a kind of shining stone<sup>6</sup> lying bare at the surface of the ground having to all appearance been left there by the rain water washing away the surrounding earth, they are of different size and form, of a Clear water Colour and

1. Probably refers to the well-known Chinook winds.

2. Mountain sheep or big-horn (*Ovis Montana*).

3. The Indian always blames his non-success in hunting to some 'bad medicine.' See Mackenzie (Masson, I, 373.)

4. Tongue river. The Indian name was (*Lazeka*.)

5. *Cornu Ammonis*, or Ammonite, a fossil cephalopod shell related to the nautilus. Popularly known as serpent stone or snake stone.

6. Quartz.

reflect with as much force as a looking glass of its size. It is certainly those stones that have given the name of shining to that Mountain.<sup>1</sup> The hills are high, rugged and barren mostly Rocks with beds of loose red gravel on their tops or near it which being washed down by the rain water give the hills a redish appearance. On many hills a heape of calomid stone<sup>2</sup> among which some time I find pumice stone.

When we left the encampment this morning we were stopped by a party of their soldiers who would not allow us to proceed, as they intended to have a general hunt, for fear that we should rise the Buffaloes, but upon promise being made by the Chief whom I accompanied that he would not hunt in the way of the Camp, and partly on my account we were suffered to go on. We were however under the necessity of gliding away unperceived to prevent Jealousy.

Wednesday 31st. We sat out at 7 in the morning and proceeded up the River in a Southern course for about 13 miles and encamped about mid day; the weather being very warm and the wind from the south. I traded a few Beaver skins.

Thursday August 1st. Rain and thunder storm prevented our stirring this day. The water rose about 6 inches in the river and is as thick as mud. The current very swift.

Fryday 2nd. Last night some children playing at some distance from the Camp on the river, were fired at. The Camp was allarmed and watchers were set for the night but nothing appeared. It rained hard during most part of the night. We rose the Camp at one in the afternoon following the river for about 9 miles in a south course. The hills of the River are at a less distance from one another than they were here tofore. The bottoms or points of the river are not so large nor so well wooded and the grass entirely eat up by the Buffaloes and Elk.

Saturday 3rd. We sat out at sun rise and encamped at one in the afternoon having pursued a South Course with fare [fair] weather and a south east wind. We followed the River

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1. Larocque's statement is scarcely probable. It seems more reasonable to suppose that the name—which must have first reached European ears through Indian report—had its origin in the brilliant, snow-capped peaks of the Rockies. See Thwaites' 'Rocky Mountain Exploration,' chap. II.

2. Probably 'calumet' stone, or pipestone.

as usually; its bends are very short not exceeding two miles and many not one. The face of the Country indicates our approach to the large Mountains and to the heads of the River.<sup>1</sup> A few Jumping [deer] or chevrenils<sup>2</sup> were Killed today. It has been very Cold these few nights.

Sunday 4th. We did not rise the Camp till late in the evening. In the morning we ascended the hills of the River and saw the Rocky Mountains<sup>3</sup> not at a very great distance with Spy Glass, its cliffs and hollows could be easily observed with the wood interspersed among the Rocks. We removed our camp about 4 miles higher up the River having pursued a S.E. Course.

Monday 5th. We had a thick fog in the morning, the night was so Cold that one Blanket could not Keep us warm enough to sleep, so that I purchased two Buffaloe Robes. About mid-day however it is generally very warm. We sat of at 7 and continued our way for about 12 miles by a south course along the River and with a north West wind. We arrived at the forks of the Pine River<sup>4</sup> which are assunder for about one mile, and encamped. The water in this River is clear and good issuing from the Mountains at a short distance from this, and is very cold, while that of the Powder River was so muddy that the Indians were under the necessity of making [holes] in the Beach and drink the water that gathered in them. We left this last mentioned river on our left where we went up the Pine River which is between 20 & 30 yards in breadth and runs over rocks. There is a rapid at every point and very little wood along its banks.

Tuesday 6th. We rose the Camp at 7 and proceeded upwards along the pine River in a S. Western direction for 12 miles, having the Rocky Mountains a head and in sight all day.

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1. That is, of the Little Missouri.

2. French for roe-deer (*Capreolus caprea*), otherwise roebuck.

3. Lewis and Clark anticipated Larocque by a few weeks in their first view of the Rocky Mountains, but neither could claim the honour of discovery, La Vérendrye having achieved that distinction some sixty-two years before. Larocque has as a matter of fact only reached the Big Horn, an offshoot of the main range.

4. The west abounded in Pine rivers and creeks. Larocque's Pine river does not appear elsewhere under that name. It is a branch of Powder river, having its source in the Big Horn range.

The weather was foggy with a N. W. wind. An Indian shot another mans wife in the breast and wounded her dangerously. Jealousy was the occasion thereof. The Indian after inquire when I intend to depart. They appear to wish me to be off. I have 23 Beaver skins which they think a great deal, and more more than we have occasion for. They thought that upon seeing the Rocky Mountains we would immediately depart as they cannot emmagine what I intend to see in them. It is hard to make them understand by signs only, especially in this case for they do not want to understand.

Wednesday 7th. We sat of at 6 and pitched the tents at 9 miles higher up the River having followed a South course. The indians hunted and killed many Buffaloes and one cow came and took refuge among the horses where she were killed. At 5 in the evening we again flitted and encamped 5 miles higher up having pursued the same course as in the morning with a head wind.

Thursday 8th. We marched 24 miles in a south West course along the Pine River. Many small Branches fall in it at a little distance from one another. A man and horse were wounded by a Bear but not dangerously. There is much fruit here about and many Bears. Wind S.E. We are here encamped at the foot of the mountain.

Fryday 9th. The people went out hunting and returned with many skins to be dressed for tents. The weather is Cloudy and the wind south. Rapids succeed each other in the River here very fast and the current between is very swift running on a bed of Rocks.

Saturday 10th. Some Indians arrived from hunting and brought 9 Beavers which I traded for Beads. Weather the same as yesterday.

Sunday 11th. They are undetermined in what course to proceed from this place they have sent a party of young men along the Mountains Westerly and are to wait here until they return. They often enquire with anxious expectation of our departure when I intend to leave them and to day they were more troublesome than usual. What I have seen of their lands hitherto has not given me the satisfaction I look for [in] Beavers. I told them that I would remain with them 20 or 30



days more. That I wished very much to see the River aux Roches Jaunes<sup>1</sup> and the place they usually in habit, otherwise that I would be unable to return and bring them their wants. They saw it was true, but to remove the objection of my not knowing their lands a few of them assembled and draughted on a dressed skin I believe a very good map of their Country<sup>2</sup> and they showed me the place where at different season they were to be found. The only reason I think they have in wishing my departure, is their haste to get what goods I still have. Besides we not a little embarrass the people in whose tent we live. They pretend to be fond of us, treat us well and say they will shed tears when we leave them.

Monday 12th. In the evening the young men that had been sent to reconnoitre returned and reported that there was plenty of Buffaloes & fruit on the tongue and small horn River,<sup>3</sup> that they had seen a lately left encampment of their people who had not been at the Missouri (about 9 lodges) that they were gone across the Mountains that they had seen no appearance of their being enemies on that side. A Council ensued, and harangues were made to raise the Camp in the morning and proceed along to the River aux Roches Jaunes.

Tuesday 13th. We sat of at half after 8 in the morning following a West Course along the Mountain, through Creeks and hills such as I never saw before, it being impossible to climb these hills with Loaded Horses we were obliged to go round them about the middle of their hight from whence we were in imminent danger of rolling down being so steep that one side of the horses load rubbed against the side of the hill. One false step of the horse would certainly have been fatal to himself and rider. The wind was S.E. in the morning and north W. in the evening and the weather sultry. We encamped at 12 on the banks of a small branch of the Tongue River, whose water was very clear and cold as Ice. The people Killed two Bears to day. I traded a few Bears. I saw a few crows today

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1. Yellowstone river. Rivière aux Roches Jaunes was the original French name, probably derived from some native equivalent.

2. The Indian possesses a natural aptitude for map-making. Constant references are found in the narratives of explorers and furtraders to the skill and accuracy of these native geographers.

3. Lewis & Clark's Little Bighorn river.



which are the only birds I have seen since I left the Missouri except a few wood Peckers.

Wednesday 14th. It rained part of the morning, as soon as the rain ceased we sat off when it began again and continued raining until we reached another branch of the Tongue River, where we encamped. We went close along the mountain all the way for about 10 miles by a West Course crossing many small Creeks all running into the Tongue River, most of them were dry but thickly wooded with the *Saule blanc*;<sup>1</sup> there was no Beaver work I saw a few Cranes.

Thursday 15th. Fine clear weather. I traded 8 Beavers and purchased a horse for which I paid a gun 200 balls, one flanel Robe, one shirt, one half axe, one battle do, one bow iron, one comb, one But Knife, one small do, 2 Wampoon hair pipes, one . . . . ., 2 axes, one Wampoon shell, 40 B. Blue Beads, 2 Mass Barley Corn do and one fm W. S. Red Stroud.<sup>2</sup> We left this place at 11 before noon and proceeded 9 miles in a North West Course and encamped on another branch of the Tongue River. Wind N.W. fine warm weather. The Indians Killed Buffaloes and a few Bears, the latter they hunt for pleasure only as they do not eat the flesh but in case of absolute necessity. Perhaps the whole nation is employed about a bear, whom they have caused to take refuge in a thicket, there they plague him a long while and then Kill him, he is seldom stript of his skin.

Fryday 16th. I purchased a saddle and [bridle?] for the horse I purchased yesterday for which I paid 40 shots Powder Being short of Balls. I gave 20 pounds Powder only for a Beaver 1 Knife, I sell 2 Beavers 10 String Blue Beads, 1 Beaver & so on. We proceeded along the mountain as usual by a N.W. Course about 15 miles, crossed 3 small Creeks emptying in the Tongue River where we arrived at one in the afternoon,<sup>3</sup> we forded it and encamped on the north side, N. & N.E. is a small Mountain lying between this river and the large Horn

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1. White willow.

2. A coarse flannel blanket, made in Stroud, Gloucestershire, and very popular at one time in the Indian trade. In his *Missouri Journal* (Masson), Larocque mentions trading '1 fathom Hudson's Bay red strouds.' The initial letters are not clear in copy; may be 'W.S.', or 'U.S.', or 'U.T.'

3. Not far north of the boundary between Montana and Wyoming.

River, they call it the Wolf Teeth<sup>1</sup> (Se la is in the Rocky Mountain language and Seja in the Big Belly's). Fine weather wind N.W.

Saturday 17th. The Indians having hunted yesterday we did not rise the Camp but remained here all day. There were many Bears here about, who are attracted by the quantity of Choak Cherries<sup>2</sup> and other fruit there is here. The Woods along the Rivers are as thickly covered with Bears Dung as a Barn door is of that of the Cattle, large Cherry trees are broken down by them in Great number. The Indians Kill one or two almost every day. The Tongue River here is small being only about 20 feet broad with two feet water in the deepest part of the rapids. It receives many additional small stream in its way to the River Roches Jaunes. The points of the River are pretty large and well stocked with wood viz. . . .<sup>3</sup> & maple.

Sunday 18th. At 7 O'Clock we left our encampment and proceeded Northward; at noon we stopped on a branch of the small Horn River & the greatest part of the Indians went on to the small Horn River to hunt. At half past two in the afternoon we sat off again and crossing the River we encamped on its Borders where we found the hunting party with their horses loaded with fresh meat. We travelled about 15 miles this day and are farther from the mountain than yesterday though still Close to it.

Monday 19th. Since we are close to the mountain many women have deserted with their lovers to their fine tents that are across the mountain, there are no Cattle in the mountain nor on the other side, so that they are loth to go that way, while the desertion of their wives strongly Call them there. Harangues were twice made to rise the Camp, and counter order were given before the tents were thrown down. The reason of this is that the wife of the Spotted Crow who regulates our mo[ve]-ments has deserted, he is for going one way while the Chief of

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1. Tongue river flows through a small range known as Chetish or Wolf Mountains. Another small range, Rosebud Mountains, lies between Tongue river and the Big Horn. Either mighe be Larocque's 'Wolf Teeth.'

2. The choke-cherry (*Prunus Virginiana*) is found everywhere on the Upper Missouri and Yellowstone.

3. Name of some other tree omitted here.

the other bands are for following our old course. Horses have been Killed and women wounded since I am with them on the score of jealousy.<sup>1</sup> To day a snake Indian shot his wife dead but it seems not without reason for it is said it was the third time he found her and the Gallant together. The Small Horn river runs East from the Mountain to this place here it makes a bend N by East and passing round of the wolf teeth it falls into the large Horn river. The bed of the River here is Rocks a continual rapid, the water clear and cold as Ice, the ground barren an the banks of the river thinly wooded with same Kind of wood as heretofore. I traded 6 Beavers.

Tuesday 20th. We flitted and encamped 3 miles higher up the River on a beautiful spot where there was plenty of fine grass for the horses, our Course West. I traded 3 Beavers.

Wednesday 21st. I made a present of a few articles to the Chief and a few other Considered Persons. We remained here all day. There is plenty of ash here. There were very few persons in the Camp that were not employed in making themselves horse whip handles with that wood; it was with that design they came here, as that wood is seldom found elsewhere. I saw some Beavers work on that River.

Thursday 22nd. Water frose the thickness of paper last night in horsetracks. I was called to a Council in the Chiefs Brothers tent Lodge, where the Spotted Crow resigned his employment of regulating our marches, an other old man took the office upon himself and told me that he intended to pursue their old course to the River aux Roches Jaune. I traded 8 Beavers with the Snake Indians in whose possession I saw a Kettle or Pot hewn out of a solid stone, it was about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick & contained about 6 or 8 quarts; it had been made with no other instrument but a piece of Iron.

Fryday 23rd. We rose the Camp at 11 in the forenoon and followed a N.E. Course for one mile N.W. 6 de, & encamped on a branch of the . . . .<sup>2</sup> River, where there is a Beaver Dam and other work occasionally found. I traded—4 Beavers, Wind S.E. the only roads practicable to Cross the mountain are at the heads of this and the Tongue River.

2. See previous note.

2. Name illegible.

Saturday 24th. This morning we were alarmed by the report that three Indians had been seen on the first hill of the mountain and that three Buffaloes were in motion and that two shots had been heard towards the large Horn River. Thirty men saddled their horses and immediately went off to see what was the matter while all the other Kept in readiness to follow if necessary. In a few hours some came back and told us that they had seen 35 on foot walking on the banks of one of the branches of the Large Horn River. In less time than the Courier Could well tell his news no one remained in the Camp, but a few old men and women, all the rest scampered off in pursuit. I went along with them we did not all Set off together nor could we all Keep together as some horses were slower than other but the foremost stopped galloping on a hill, and continued on with a small trot as people came up. They did the dance<sup>1</sup> when the Chief arrived, he and his band or part of it galloped twice before the main body of the people who still continued their trot intersecting the line of their course while one of his friends I suppose his aide de Camp harangued. They were all dressed in their best Cloths. Many of them were followed by their wives who carried their arms, and who were to deliver them at the time of Battle. There were likewise many children, but who could Keep their saddles. A head of us were some young men on different hills making signs with their Robes which way we were to go.<sup>2</sup> As soon as all the Chiefs were come up and had made their harangue every one set off the way he liked best and pursued according to his own judgement. The Country is very hilly and full of large Creeks whose banks are Rocks so that the pursued had the advantage of being able to get into places where it was impossible to go with horses & hide themselves. All escaped but two of the foremost who being scouts of the party had advanced nearer to us than the others and had not discovered us, they were surrounded after a long race but Killed and scalped in a twinkling. When I arrived at the dead bodies they had taken but his scalp and the fingers of his right hand with which the outor was off. the[y] borrowed my hanger with which the[y] cut off his left hand and returned it [the knife] to me bloody as a mark of honour and desired

1. War dance. See Maximilian, II, 291, *et seq.*

2. Maximilian, III, 300, *et seq.*—Notes on Indian Sign Language.



me to . . . . . at him. Men women and children were thronging to see the dead Bodies and taste the Blood. Everyone was desirous of stabbing the bodies to show what he would have done had he met them alive and insulted & frotted at them in the worst language they could give. In a short time the remains of a human body was hardly distinguishable. every young man had a piece of flesh tied to his gun or lance with which he rode off to the Camp singing and exultingly showing it to every young women in his way, some women had whole limb dangling from their saddles. The sight made me Shudder with horror at such Cruelties and I returned home in quiet different frame from that in which I left it.

Sunday 25th. The Scalp dance was danced all night and the scalps carried in procession through the day.

Monday 26th. It rained in the morning as it did yesterday, at noon the Weather Clearing we sat off Course S.W. wind S.E. fine weather. We encamped in the mountain 9 miles distant from our last encampment by a small Creek in which there was little running water, but an amazing number of Beaver Dams. I counted 6 in about 2 points of the River but most of them appeared to be old Dams. The young men paraded all day with the scalps tied to their horses bridles sing[ing] and keeping time with the Drum and Sheskequois<sup>1</sup> or Rattle.

Tuesday 27th. We remained here all day, 10 Young Men were sent to observe the motions of those who were routed lately, they are afraid of being attaked having seen the road of a numerous body of people on the large Horn River. In the evening news came that the Buffaloes were in motion on the Large Horn River, and harangues were made to guard the Camp.

Wednesday 28th. Two hours before day light, all the Indians horses were saddled at their doors, they put all their young children on horse back & tied to the saddles, then they slept the remainder of the night. They likewise loaded some horses with the most valuable part of their property while they in the expectation of being attacked sat in the tents their arms ready & their horses saddled at the door. At broad day light

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1. Catlin calls the rattle She-she-quois, and says 'that most generally' used is made of rawhide, charged with pebbles, which produce a shrill noise to mark time in the Indian dances and songs.' See two illustrations on Plate 101½, p. 210, Catlin, I.



nothing appearing they took in their children and unloaded their horses. At 9 in the morning 4 young men arrived and reported that they had seen nothing of the enemy, that there were party Buffaloes between the Large Horn and the River aux Roches Jaunes.

Thursday 29th. We rose the Camp this morning and marched a Course West by North. The Indians hunted and saw Strange Indians. There was a Continual harangue by different Chiefs the whole night which with the singing and dancing of the scalp prevented any Sleep being had. We pitched the tents on a small creek running into the large Horn River distant about 20 miles from our last encampment.

Fryday 30th. We left the place and encamped on the Large Horn River close to the foot of the mountain and of very high Rocks. Course West about 5 miles.

Saturday 31st. We remained at this place the whole day. Some young one who had been en découverte returned from a deserted camp of about 30 Lodges where they found Chief Coats N.B. straud<sup>1</sup> Wampoon shells and other articles, which it seems had been left by the people inhabiting those tents upon some panic. This is what these Indians say but it is my opinion that those goods are rather an offering to the supreme being which those indians often make and leave in tree well wrapt up, and which our young men found. This River is broad deep and clear water strong courant, bed stone and gravel about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile above this encampment, the River runs between 2 big Rocks & losses  $\frac{2}{3}$  of its breadth but gains proportionally in depth. There is no beach at the foot of the Rocks, they are but perpendicular down to the water. It is awful to behold and makes one giddy to look down upon the river from the top of those Rocks.<sup>2</sup> The Riper appears quite narrow and runs with great rapidity immediately under our feet, so that I did not dare to look down but when I could find a stone behind which I could keep & looking over it to see the foaming water without danger of falling in. This river does not take its rise in this mountain, it passes through the mountains and takes its water

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1. Stroud, i.e., cloth or blanket.

2. The description would seem to point to the Big Horn Cañon, but Larocque's narrative makes it clear that he was farther down the river.

in the next range.<sup>1</sup> There is a fall in this River 30 or 40 miles above this where presides a Manitou<sup>2</sup> or Devil. These Indians say it is a Man Wolf who lives in the fall and rises out of it to devour any person or beast that go to near. They say it is impossible to Kill him for he is ball proof. I measured a Ram's horn which I found when walking along the River, it was 5 spans in length<sup>2</sup> and was very weighty, it seems to me that the animal who carried it died of old age for the small end of the horn was much worn and broke into small splinters, which was not the case in any of the animals I saw Killed, nor were their horns of that size neither.

The Mountain is here a solid Rock in most places bare and naked, in other places Cloathed with a few Red Pine. The sides of some Coulé are as smooth and perpendicular as any wall, and of an amazing hight; and in places there are holes in those perpendicular Rocks resembling much those niches in which statues are placed. others like church doors & vaults, the tout ensemble is grand and striking. Beautiful prospects are to be had from some parts of those Rocks, but the higher places are inaccessible. The Large Horn River is seen winding through a level plain of about 3 miles breadth for a great distance almost to its conflux with the River aux Roches Jaunes.

Sunday, September 1st. We Left this place and pitched our tents about 3 miles lower down where we remained two days, while we were here a Snake Indian arrived, he had been absent since the Spring and had seen part of his nation who traded with the Spaniards, he brought a Spanish B[r]idle and Battle ax, a large thick blanket, striped white and black and a few other articles, such as Beads, etc. A Missouri Big Belly fished here and caught 14 moyens Cat fish<sup>3</sup> in a very short time.

We had much dancing at this place still for the scalps. There are Islands in the River here but most of them are heaps of sand. The Wooded points of the River do not join the open

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1. The Big Horn river rises in Western Wyoming, in the main range of the Rocky Mountains. It flows around the northwestern extremity of the Big Horn range.

2. Manitou, or more properly, Windego. Scores of waterfalls have been the reputed home of this picturesque but rather bloodthirsty spirit. In one form or another, and under varying names, the Windego ranged almost from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

3. *Amiurus nebulosus*. Moyen catfish, i.e., middle-sized catfish.

plain is seen between them but there is plenty of wood in some places. The leaves beg[*in*] to fall.

Wednesday 4th. We left the encampment and proceeded N.W. by North about 15 miles and pitched the tents on a Small Creek running into the Large Horn River. Where we left the River we had a level plain for about 4 or 5 miles when the Country became hilly and barren.

Thursday 5th. We Kept the same Course as yesterday and encamped on a most small Creek running as the former about the same nature.

Fryday 6th. We rose the Camp early and at 11 before noon arrived at Mampoia or Shot stone River,<sup>1</sup> from whence the Indians went out to hunt, there being plenty of Buffaloes on the road to this place, the mountains were as follows. The mountain along which we travelled from the Pine River lay S.E. another called Amanchabé Clije south, the Boa [or Bod] Mountain S.W. but appeared faintly on account of a thick fog that covered it.

Saturday 7th. We remained all day here, the Indian women being very bussy to dry tongues and the best part of the meat and dressing skins for a great feast they are preparing. while their war exploits are recapitulated.

Sunday 8th. I sat off early this morning with two Indians to visit the River aux Roches Jaunes and the adjacent part. I intended to return from this place as the Indians will take a very round about road to go there. We were not half ways, when we fell in with Buffaloes, my guides were so bent upon hunting that they did not guide me where I wanted, and we returned at night to the tents with meat, but with rain as it rained from noon till night. The Indians showed me a mountain lying North West which they told me was in a direct line to the Missouri falls and not far from it.<sup>2</sup> We passed through two new raised Camps of strange Indians at the door of the largest tent were 7 heaps of sticks each containing 10 sticks denoting the number of lodges in the Camp, to have been 70.

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1. Manpoia or Shot Storm river, Larocque spells it farther on. Shan-non's Creek, a small tributary of the Yellowstone.

2. Some error here, as the Great Falls of the Missouri are about 200 miles in an air line from where Larocque then stood.

Monday 9th. I purchased a horse we had information that four strangers had been seen who likewise saw our people & hid themselves. At night a young man arrived who saw and conversed (I cannot say he spoke for the whole conversation was carried on by signs they not understanding one another language) with a fort de prairie Big Belly,<sup>1</sup> they wanted to bring each other to their respective Camps but both were afraid and neither of them dared to go to the other Camp. The B.B. are encamped on the large Horn River behind the mountain and are come on peaceable terms they are 275 or 300 Lodges.

Tuesday 10th. We rose the Camp at 9 and took a N. West Course to the River aux Roches Jaunes where we arrived<sup>2</sup> at two in the afternoon distant 16 miles we forded into a large Island in which we encamped. This is a fine large River in which there is a strong current, but the Indians say there are no falls. Fordable places are not easily found although I believe the water to be at its lowest. The bottoms are large and well wooded.

Wednesday 11th. 5 Big Bellys arrived and came into our lodge being the Chief Lodge. They brought words of peace from their nation and say they Come to trade horses. They were well received by the Indians and presents of different articles were made them. they told me they had traded last winter with Mr. Donald whom they made Known to me a[s] crooked arm.<sup>3</sup> I went round the Island in which we are encamped, it is about 5 miles in circumference and thickly wooded in some places all along the North Side of the Island. The Beaver has cut down about 50 feet of the wood. 9 Lodges of the people that were left in the Spring was joined in they are 15 tents at present, they encamped on the opposite side of the River.

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1. The Fall Indians of the Saskatchewan, (*Atsinas*).

2. He reached the Yellowstone below Pryor's Fork.

3. John McDonald of Garth, known among the fur-traders and Indians as 'Bras Croche' because of his deformed arm. McDonald wrote a series of exceedingly interesting Autobiographical Notes, 1791-1816, for which see Masson, II, 1-59. They were written at the age of 85, and are consequently not always to be relied upon in the matter of dates. He says that he built New Chesterfield House (on South Saskatchewan, at mouth of Red Deer) in 1805, and gives a graphic account of the arrival of a band of 'Mississourie Indians' (evidently the 'Big Bellys' whom Larocque now mentions) about Christmas of that year. Larocque's Journal makes it clear that the year should be 1804.



Thursday 12th. I traded six large Beavers from the Snake Indians. We crossed from the Island to the West side of the River & proceeded upward for about 9 miles south West and encamped in a point where they usually make their fall medicine.

Fryday 13th. I bought a Horn Bow & a few Arrows a Saddle & pichimom,<sup>1</sup> part of a tent and a few of those blue Glass Beads they have from the Spaniards, and on which they set such value that a horse is given for 100 grains.

Saturday 14th. Having now full filled the instructions I received from Mr. Chaboillez, which were to examine the lands of the Crow Indians and see if there is Beaver as was reported, and I to invite them to hunt it, I now prepared to depart, I assembled the Chiefs in Council, and after having smoked a few pipes, I informed them that I was setting off, that I was well pleased with them and their behaviour towards me, and that I would return to them next fall. I desired them to kill Beavers and Bears all winter for that I would come and trade with them and bring them and bring them their wants. I added many reasons to show them that it was their interest to hunt Beavers, and then proceeded to settle the manners of Knowing one another next fall, and how I am to find them which is as follows. Upon my arrival at the Island if I do not find them I am to go to the Mountain called Amanchabé Chije & then light 4 dift fires on 4 successive days, and they will Come to us (for it is very high and the fire can be seen at a great distance) in number 4 & not more, if more than four come to us we are to act upon the defensive for it will be other Indians. If we light less than 3 fires they will not come to us but think it is enemies. They told me that in winter they were alway to be found at a Park by the foot of the Mountain a few miles from this or thereabouts. In the spring and fall they are upon this River and in summer upon the Tongue and Horses<sup>2</sup> River.

I have 122 Beavers 4 Bears and two otters which I traded not so much for their value (for they are all summer skins) as

1. Or, pichimori, copy is indistinct. Possibly the Crow name for a bridle. It may even be a very wild spelling or transcription of pemmican, the mixture of pounded meat and melted fat which formed so important a feature of the fur-traders' equipment.

2. Possibly, Pumpkin creek, the chief branch of Tongue river.



to show them that I set some value on the Beavers and our property. The presents I made them I thought were sufficient to gain their good will in which I think I succeeded.✓

I never gave them any thing without finding means to let them know it was not for nothing. Had more been given they would have thought that good[s] were so common among us than to set no value upon them, for Indians that have seen few White men will be more thankful for a few articles given them than for great many, as they think that little or no value is attached to what is so liberally given. It was therefore I purchased their Bears and likewise as a proof that there is Beaver in those parts, besides it saved to distribute the good I had into the most deserving hands, that is the less lazy.

We departed about noon 2 Chiefs accompanied us about 3 miles, we stopped and smoked a parting pipe, the[y] embrased us, we shook hands & parted they followed us about one mile, at a distance gradually lessening their steps till we were almost out of sight and Crying or pretending to Cry they then turned their backs and went home. At parting they promised that none of their young men would follow us, they took heaven and earth to witness to attest their sincerity in what they had told us, and that they had opened their ears to my words and would do as I desired them, they made me swear by the same that I would return and that I told them no false words (and certainly I had no intention of breaking my oath nor have I still. If I do not keep them my word it certainly is not my fault).

Our course was N.E. 20 miles, a little before sun set we were overtaken by a storm which forced us into a point of the River where we encamped & passed the night during which our horses were frightened & it was with difficulty we could get them together again. We Kept watch by night.

Sunday 15th. We followed a N.E. course and crossed the River Rocher Jaune at 9 and proceeded along the South side, at 10 we crossed Manpoa River at its entrance into River Roches Jaunes, Manpoa or the Shot Storm River is about 10 feet in breadth and with very little water it take its waters in Amanabe Chief at a short distance there is wood along its Banks, especially close to the mountain and Beaver on the east side of this River, close to its discharge in the Riv: Rocher

Jaune is a Whitish perpendicular Rock on which is painted with Red earth a battle between three persons on horseback and 3 on foot, <sup>1</sup> at 2 in the afternoon we arrived at a high hill on the side of the river called by the Natives Erpian Macolié where we stopped to refresh our horses & killed one Cow. An hour before sun set we sat of again and encamped after dark making no fire for fear of being discovered by horse thieves or enemies. From Manpoa to this p[1]ace our Course was east. Buffaloes and Elk we found in great plenty. Wind S.W.

Monday 16th. It froze hard last night North, Weather Cloudy N.E. 9 miles and stopped to Cook victuals for the day as we make no fire at night. Elk and Buffaloes in the greatest plenty. It rained till 3 in the afternoon, when weather clearing we sett off and encamped at the Rocks of the large Horn River where we arrived at 8 in the evening.

Tuesday 17th. We crossed the river early in the morning, its points here are large & beautiful well stocked with wood, we passed through a most abominable Country and often despaired of being able to get clear of this place enceting (*sic*) with Rocks which it was impossible to ascend or to go round so we were obliged often to go back on other road which presented us with the same difficulties, at last we ascended the hill but being on the top did not offer a more pleasing prospect, we were often obliged to unload the horses and carry baggage ourselves and the horses being light we made chump [jump] over . . . . .<sup>2</sup> in the Rock and climb precipices, but were near losing them at last at 3 in the afternoon we had passed the whole of that bad road and arrived at the Border of Rocks where we could see a fine level country before us but the sun was set before we could find a practiable road to come down to it, which we effected not without unloading the horses and carrying down their loads

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1. Descending the Yellowstone, in July, 1806, Captain Clark visited a remarkable rock near the confluence of Shannon's Creek with the Yellowstone. He describes it as 'nearly four hundred paces in circumference, two hundred feet high, and accessible only from the northeast, the other sides being a perpendicular cliff of a light-coloured gritty rock. The Indians have carved the figures of animals and other objects on the sides of the rock, and on the top are raised two piles of stones.' He named this remarkable rock Pompey's pillar, and it is so marked on his map. This is apparently the same rock mentioned by Larocque, and his Manpoa river is Clark's Shannon's creek.

2. Illegible, may be 'channels,' in sense of chasms.

part of the way, while the horses slid down upon their rumps about 25 yards. We broke some of our saddles, and arrived in the plain just as the day was setting and encamped further on by the side of the River. It is probable that had we had a guide with us we could have avoided those Rocks, while our ignorance of the Road made us enter into & once engaged among the difficulty was as great to return as to proceed. We Kept no regular course, but went on as we could to all points of the compass in order to extricate ourselves. We Killed one Elk.

Wednesday 18th. This morning we saw the points of wood where we encamped last night 9 miles south of us from which we were parted by the River on one side and the Rocks on the other. I heard the noise of the fall or Great Rapids' yesterday, but now at too great a distance from the River and too busily engaged to go and see it. It froze hard last night, we left our encampment later our horses were tired, but after having set out did not stop till after sun set having followed for 22 miles a north East course wind South West. fine weather plenty Elk and Buffaloes.

Thursday 19th. Cold and Cloudy and followed the same course as last day for 22 miles stopped at 2 in the afternoon and Killed a stag which was very poor being its Rutting Season. We resumed our course to the N. East for 8 miles and encamped for the night.

Friday 20th. We sat this day early out, assended the hills which are rugged and barren proceeding N.E. for 36 miles. Killed one large . . . . ., fine weather with a N.E. wind.

Saturday 21st. We had a very bad road Came down to the River to see if we could find a better passage but it was impossible, the River striking the Rock at every bend and assended the hill again and with difficulty made our way over Rocks. After sun set we encamped on the River a la Langue<sup>2</sup> Killed 2 Elks which were very fat. Course East for 18 miles wind N.E.

Sunday 22nd. We crossed the River a la Langue and passed over a plain of about 9 miles in breadth where we came again to Rocks and precipices without number over which we jogged

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1. Not clear to what falls Larocque refers. The Yellowstone is navigable from its mouth to some distance above Larocque' present position.

2. Tongue River. See previous note.

on without stopping till 2 hours before sun set when we encamped on the side of the River close to a Rapid. There is little or no wood here along the River except a few Liards scattered here and there and no grass at all. Course N.E. for about 18 miles. Wind S.W.

Monday 23rd. We had a pretty level plain the whole of the day 12 miles West and 24 miles N.E. at 10 we crossed the Powder River,<sup>1</sup> it has no wood on its bank here and is much shallower than when we crossed it going; its water is the same being still muddy, we encamped at night by a small Creek, having been unable to find grass for our horses throughout the day we were obliged to cut down three Lair[d]s and let the horses feed on the bark.

Tuesday 24th. Set off early, at 9 in the morning we found a place where there was grass where we stopped and let our horses eat. At three in the afternoon we saddled our horses and went on until we encamped after sunset having followed an Eastern Course for 13 miles. Wind S.W. fine weather. It is 4 nights since it froze.

Wednesday 25th. We passed through a very uneven country, but there being no Rocks we had no very great difficulties and encamped at night in a very large point of wood in which there was plenty of Deer—watched all night having seen something like a man Creeping on the beach. We had made this day 37 miles by a North Course. The fire is in the plains from which the wind brought columns of thick smoke in abundance so that we could barely see. We shod our horses with raw deer hide as their hoofs are worn out to the flesh with continual walking since last Spring setting their feet on loose stones lames them & sometimes makes them bleed.

Thursday 26th. What we saw las night and mistook for a man was a Bear whose tracks we found this morning. We sat out at 8 and the plain being even we went on at a great rate, at 2 in the afternoon we stopped to Kill a cow, our provision being out, at three we sat off again and met on our road a femal bear eating . . . . . we killed her and took the skin it being good. at five we stopped for the night.

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1. Crosses Powder River about midway between the forks and mouth.  
2078—4



Here the River is divided into many channels forming so many islands,<sup>1</sup> the bank and islands are thickly covered with woods, chiefly Liard, oak and maple. Our course was North which followed for 39 miles having the wind ahead, which brought us thick smoke in abundance. We saw this day plenty Elk and Buffaloes.

Friday 27th. We crossed a plain of about 6 miles and arrived at a bend of the River where it was impossible to continue on the hill so that we were fain to descend to the River and Beach. We bemired 3 of our horses and got them out but with great difficulty. At one we stopped to let the horses eat. The wind was south and we had no appearance of smoke but the weather threatened rain. We encamped at sun set after having followed a North course for 24 miles and found plenty of grass.

Saturday 28th. This whole day we travelled through a level country having fine weather. We made 30 miles in a Northerly direction and passed 3 Indian encampment of this summer, whom I suppose must have been occupied by warriors for the[y] had no tents.

Sunday 29th. We passed through a most beautiful and pleasant country, the river being well wooded. We found here more fine grass than in any place since I left the Missouri and of course the greatest number of Buffaloes. The wind was N. W. and the weather Cloudy and Cold. Having made 30 miles by a N.N.E. Course we encamped on a small creek round which the river passed.

Monday 30th. We assended the hill which produces plenty of fine grass; about 6 miles further we saw the forks of the River aux Roches Jaunes and the Missouri Course N.E. 27 miles and descended to the River (the Missouri) having but a bend. We had followed the River for 7 miles when we heard the report of a gun twice, and the voice of a woman as crying. We stopped and sent Morrison<sup>2</sup> en decouverte and I and Souci remained to watch the horses and property. Morrison returned in about 2 hours and reported that what we had taken for a

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1. See description of this portion of the Yellowstone, in Lewis & Clark II, chap. 17.

2. William Morrison. See Masson's *Liste des Bourgeois, &c.*, I, 402, 403.

Woman's voice was that of a young Cub, and as to the gun we supposed it proceeded from trees thrown down by the wind, as it blew very hard, and the Buffaloes, Bears and Elk were very quiet in the wood and plain, so that there was no appearance of being any human Creature there a bout. We went on & ascended the hills to cut a large bend of the River following an east course for 11 miles and encamped in a large point of Elm trees for the night. The Wind was North West and very strong tearing down trees by their roots every moment.

Tuesday October 1st. Weather Cloudy raining now and then, Wind N.W. very cold Course North 12 miles. Passing through a Coulé yesterday I found a lodge made in the form of those of the Mandans & Big Bellys (I suppose made by them) surrounded by a small Fort. The Lodge appears to have been made 3 or 4 years ago but was inhabited last winter. Out side of the fort was a Kind of Stable in which the[y] kept their horses. There was plenty of Buffaloes heads in the Fort some of them painted red.

Wednesday 2nd. Strong N.W. wind Cold and Cloudy—Course N.E. 26 miles Killed a Cow—Country even plenty of grass.

Thursday 3rd. Set off at 7 through a very hilly and bad country N.E. 20 miles east 15 and encamped on the River it rained part of the day Wind north West very Cold.

Friday 4th. It rained and was bad weather all night, at break of the day it began to snow and continued snowing very hard till 2 in the afternoon. Strong N.W. wind. We sought our horses all day without being able to find them till after sun set; the bad weather having drawn them in the woods.

Saturday 5th. Sat off early, fine weather Course S.E. by E. 26 miles plenty of Buffaloes on both sides of the River Killed Cow.

Sunday 6th. All the small Creeks and Ponds were frozen over this morning Course S.E. by S. 20 miles Sout[h]—passed through a thick wood of about 4 miles.

Monday 7th. East 2 miles south 11 de arrived at the lesser Missory which we crossed S.E. 3 miles saw many Bears and Skunks.

Tuesday 8th. Assended the hills, Plains even 39 miles S. S.E. fine warm weather wind S.W.

Wednesday 9th. Proceeded on the hills through a fine Country course E. by S. 12 miles. South 2 miles and arrived at the Big Bellies who were encamped about 3 miles above their village. I found here a letter of Mr. Charles McKenzie to me.

Thursday 10th. I remained here all day to refresh the horses before I proceed to the Assinibois River. Among other news the Indians tell me that there are 14 American Crafts below the [villages?] who are asiending to this place.<sup>1</sup> The Sioux have Killed 8 White men last spring upon St. Peters River & 3 Big Bellies here.

Friday 11th. I intended crossing over to day but was prevented by the strength of the wind which blew all day with amazing violence from the North West. I got a few pair of shoes made and Corn pounded for provision, news came that the Sciouxs were seen encamped at a short distance below. Expecting to be attacked they [the Big Bellies] were under arms all night.

Saturday 12th. About noon the weather being calm & warm we crossed the River; the horses swam the whole bredth of the River & were nearly spent. We met with 3 Assiniboines and their wives on the North side of the River who were going to the Big Bellies to trade. We went slowly on till sun set when we encamped on the side of a small lake in the Plains which are burning to the West. Course North.

Sunday 13th. Fine weather, wind N.W. plenty of .....<sup>2</sup> Buffaloes just arriving in the plain. Few being on all sides. The Buffaloes were in motion so that we could not get near enough to get a shot at them, & our horses so tired & fatigued that I did not chuse to run them. We crossed the fire at sun set and encamped by the side of a small lake whose borders had escaped the general Conflagration.

Monday 14th. We watched our horses all that night for fear of Assiniboines, of whom we had seen the tracks, in the

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1. This would seem to refer to the Lewis & Clark Expedition, but at this date Lewis & Clark were on Columbian waters west of the Rocky Mountains.

2. In this and in other cases of omitted words throughout the journal. the lacuna is in the Laval University copy, of which this is a transcription.

evening; sat off before sun rise and arrived at 10 in the forenoon at the River la Sourie where we stopped for the remainder of the day. The grass on either side of the river here is not burnt but the fire appears on both sides at a distance, West and north. Soon in the evening the Buffaloes were in motion on the North side of the River which made us fear for our horses.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday 15th. After dark last night we left our encampment and mar[ched] two and a half hours by star light, when Clouds gathering so as to obscure our sight of the stars and of course being unable to regulate our course we stopped in a Creek and there passed the night being free of anxiety.

In the morning we proceeded weather Cold and Cloudy wind N.W. We stopped for the Night on the deep River,<sup>2</sup> which does not draw the name of a Riper, being a hallow . . . . .<sup>3</sup> in the plain in which there are small deep ponds communicating with each other in the spring and rainy seasons only, nor is there a single twig to be found about. At sun set it began to rain and continued so all night. We covered the property with part of a tent we had, and we passed the whole night Shivering by a small fire made of Cowdung<sup>4</sup> (which we had taken care to gether before the rain began) withe the assistance of our saddle on our back, by the way of Cloaks.

Wednesday 16th. It snowed rained and hailed the whole day. Wind N.W. and amazing strong. We arrived after dark at the woods of one of the Elk Head Rivers,<sup>5</sup> wet to the skin and quite benumbed with Cold.

Thursday 17th. Weather Cloudy and wind N.W. and very Cold so we were fain to stop, make a fire and warm ourselves, especially as we are not over and above well dressed to Keep off the Cold. We wrapt ourselves in Buffaloe Robes and proceeded

1. The movement of the buffaloes suggesting the presence of those dreaded horse-thieves the Assiniboines.

2. Some small creek, not now distinguishable.

3. Word illegible.

4. The *bois de vache*, or 'bodevache' (probably a corruption of *bouse de vache*), so often mentioned in the journals of western fur-traders. This unsatisfactory fuel had often to be resorted to in crossing the prairie, where wood of any kind was unprocurable.

5. North and South Antler creeks. North Antler creek was formerly called *Tête à la Biche*.



to the Grand Coulé<sup>1</sup> and encamped on the very same spot where we had the quarrel last spring with the Assiniboine.

Friday 18th. In the morning we met with a few Assiniboines coming from the Fort, we stopped and smoked a pipe with them. They told us that Mount a la Bosse [fort] had been evacuated<sup>2</sup> and that Mr. Falcon<sup>3</sup> was building a house to winter in,<sup>4</sup> about half ways between that and R. qu'il appelle Fort.<sup>5</sup> We arrived at Mount a la Bosse Fort, where I found Mr. Charles McKenzie and 3 men taking care of the remaining property.

I remained here one day and then went to see Mr. Falcon at the Grand Bois about 15 miles above this, returned the next day and then satt out for River la Sourie Fort<sup>6</sup> where I arrived the 22 October. So ends my Journal of my Journey to the Rocky Mountains.

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1. Near Souris river, north or northwest of Turtle Mountain.

2. This is important as fixing the date of the abandonment of the Montagne à la Bosse post, which has hitherto been in doubt.

3. Pierre Falcon. See Masson's *Liste* under 'Haut de la Rivière Rouge.' He was father of the Half-Breed of the same name who took part in the Seven Oaks affair when Governor Semple met his death, and was the author of a ballad on the fight, for which see Hargrave's 'Red River,' p. 488. See Tassé's 'Canadiens de l'Ouest,' II, 339, *et seq.*

4. Grand Bois, as Larocque names it in the following paragraph.

5. Rivière Qu'Appelle Fort, at the mouth of the river of same name, an affluent of the Assiniboine.

6. On the south side of the Assiniboine, at the mouth of the Souris river.

## A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN INDIANS WITH WHOM I PASSED THE SUM- MER, 1805.

This nation known among the Sioux by the name of Crow Indians inhabit the Eastern part of the Rocky Mountains at the head of the River aux Roches Jaunes (which is Known by the Kinistinaux and Assiniboines by the name of River a la Biche, from the great number of Elks with which all the Country-along it abounds) and its Branches and Close to the head of the Missouri.

There are three principal tribes of them whose names in their own language are *Apsarechas*, *Kee the resas* and *Ashcab-caber*, and these tribes are again divided into many other small ones<sup>1</sup> which at present consist but of very few people each, as they are the remainder of a numerous people who were reduced to their present number by the ravage of the Small Pox, which raged among them for many years successively and as late as three years ago. They told me they counted 2000 Lodges or tents in their Camp when altogether before the Small Pox had infected them. At present their whole number consist of about 2400 persons dwelling in 300 tents and are able to raise 600 Warriors like the Sioux and Assiniboines. They wander about

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1. Lewis H. Morgan in 'Ancient Society' gives the following list of gentes of the Crows or Absarokas:—

1. Prairie Dog gens, A-che-pä-bé-cha.
2. Bad Leggings, E-sash'-ka-buk.
3. Skunk, Ho ka-rut'-cha.
4. Treacherous Lodges, Ash-bot-chee-ah.
5. Lost Lodges, Ah-shin'-nä-dé-ah.
6. Bad Honors, Ese-kep-kä'-buk.
7. Butchers, Oo-sä-bot'-see.
8. Moving Lodges, Ah-hä-chick.
9. Bear-Paw Mountain, Ship-tet'-zä.
10. Blackfoot Lodges, Ash-kane'-na.
11. Fish Catchers, Boo-a-dä'-sha.
12. Antelope, O-hot-du-sha.
13. Raven, Pet-chale-ruh-pä'-ka.

in Leather tents and remain where there are Buffaloes and Elks. After having remained a few days in one place so that game is not more so plentiful as it was they flit to another place where there are Buffaloes or deers and so on al the year around. Since the great decrease of their numbers they generally dwell all together and flit at the same time and as long as it is possible for them to live when together they seldom part. The fear of some of their neighbours with whom they are at war compels them to that, as collectively they can repulse a greater party of their enemies, than when divided into small bands; though at such sesons as they are not liable to be attacked, they part for a short time. In general they are middle size men, but many of them are tall and stout and some inclined to corpulency which is seldom the case with American Indian.

Such of them as do not make practice of exposing themselves naked to the sun have a skin nearly as white as that of white people.<sup>1</sup> Those parts which the women keep concealed are likewise white, but their face, breast arms and shoulders are burnt to the common Copper colour of the Indians by the scorching rays of the sun. Most of those Indians as they do not so often go naked, are generally of a fairer skin than most of the other tribes with which I am acquainted. It is my opinion that the N.W. Americans in General were they to be brought up in the same manner that we are, and their bodies kept from the burning heat of the sun, would in a few generations be as white as Europeans. Some of them have the hair of the head entirely gray although young;<sup>2</sup> and though I enquired I could not find that sickness had been the cause thereof. They make a practice like the other americans of eradicating the hair from every part of the body except the head, as fast as it groes, and deem it unseemly in a young man especially to have beard. The old men when they grown careless about their person let the beard grow, and in other parts of the body. The hair it seems groes faster than they could pull it out.

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1. From the period of their first contact with the tribes of the Upper Missouri, white traders and travellers have constantly mentioned the comparatively fair complexion of these Indians.

2. From and including La Vérendrye, all travellers in the Upper Missouri country have noticed this peculiarity. See Catlin, I, 94-5.

They practice so little walking & running, using horses and all occasions, that they are not so swift in running as their neighbours the Big Bellys and Mandans. I saw more cripples and decrepid old men among them than among any other nation except the Big Bellys and the Mandans. It is said that the Sauteurs and Kinistenaux tribes send their enfirmes and old to Kingdome Come to ease themselves of the trouble of attending the care of them.<sup>1</sup> These Nations,<sup>2</sup> however, do it not, their old and infirm are of very little truble to them. The Mandanes and Big Bellys are sedentary and the Rocky Mountain Indians have so many horses, that they can transport their sick without trouble. Whethere they did it or not before they had horses I do not Know; besides their country abounds so much in Buffaloes and Deer that they find no difficulty in finding provision for a noumerous family, which is likewise the cause of their having a plurality of wives,<sup>3</sup> some of them have 8 or 10 and 12, but in such cases they do not all live with him some are young girls that are only betustted<sup>4</sup> But by far the greatest part have only 2 or 3 wives; some have only one, and those reason upon the folly of those that take many wives, and say that it is impossible for them to live happy and quiet as their wives ar Jealous & for ever wrangling. They are not so stupid as Indians are generally thought to be. they reasons justly enough upon such subjects as they have had the occasion to see and be acquainted with. They certainly express wonder and admiration when such things are shown them as they have no conception

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1. Peter Grant, in his valuable account of 'The Sauteux Indians' (Masson, II, 307-366), says that they 'greatly respect their old men while they are of some use in society, but if, from extreme age or other infirmity, they become incapacitated to follow them in their encampments, they are then considered as dead to society, and their nearest relations think themselves no longer bound to maintain them; in this case a temporary shade is provided for them, with provisions and necessaries to prolong their miserable existence for a few days, and they are abandoned for ever.' Hearne and Mackenzie describe similar practices among the far northern tribes. See Lewis & Clark, II, 145-6.

2. That is, the Crows, Mandans and Minnetarees.

3. See Catlin, *North American Indians*, I, 118-20. Peter Grant says that among the Sauteux, 'the generality are content with one wife, yet polygamy is encouraged among them, and a good hunter has commonly two or three.' Grant adds that the first wife claims a certain superiority over the others, and is generally considered by the husband as chief mistress of the family.

4. Probably betrothed.



of, of such as Spy Glasses, Watches, &c., but that is certainly no matter of stupidity. They know very well how to make unadvantageous<sup>1</sup> bargain in their sales and purchases, and discover no little share of ingenuity in making their saddles, fabricating knives &c out of a broken piece of Iron &c.

They have not that taciturnity common to the more Northern Nation; I have never seen them remain any time in their tents alone with their hand between their knees and not uttering a word; they are social are fond of Company and are lonesome when alone. In walking in their camp numbers of small parties of old men are seen smoking and chatting together while the younger are playing at diverse games or exercising themselves at firing at a mark and..... When a Sautaux or Assiniboine enter a strangers tent they keep down their head, or muffle it so in their Robe or Blanket that it can hardly be seen. These Indians never do it, they are bold & Keep up their heads in any place and say that it is a sign of having bad designs when one is ashamed to show his face. A few Fall Indians<sup>2</sup> that I saw are the same.

The North West Indians have been generally greatly misrepresented by some Authors, they have not that stupidity & listlessness which is attributed to them and I am persuaded that a child taken young from among his parents might be taught the sciences and would learn them as easily as any other. It is not out of bashfulness that the Sautaux etc hide their face when entering in a strange tent, but they esteem it polite. When they begin to smoke or after they have smoked a few pipes that they uncover their face but the custume is in general with the young men than with those of a certain age.

Jealousy seems to be their predominant passion; many do not go hunting without taking their favourite wife with them. The consequence of infidelity to the marriage bed is often dangerous to the wife who is often killed or wounded & some times the paramour likewise, but the most common revenge taken by the enraged husband is Killing or taking the horses of the wifs

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1. Unadvantageous, presumably, for the other party.

2. Atsinas. The name Fall Indians as applied to this tribe is first found in Umfreville's 'Present State of Hudson Bay.' See his vocabulary of their language opposite p. 202. Also Coues' Henry, II, 530.

galant, besides unmercifully beating her. They sometimes present their wife to a stranger for the night, but that is very seldom & is always for some interested consideration.

Like all other Indian nations the women do most of their work, but as they are not so wretchedly situated as those nations who live in forests the women do work here that is done by man among the Cree, Sauteux etc & yet have less work to do and are more at ease while the men are 'proportionally idle.'<sup>1</sup> When hunting they Kill the Cattle and their wives who generally follow them skin the animal, and dress it while they sit looking by; they do not even saddle their own horses when their wives are present nor do they take off their shoes or leggings when they come in to go to bed. In flitting the women ride & have no loads to carry on their backs as is common among other nations though it is certain that had they no horses they would be in the same predicament as their less fortunate neighbours for though the men are fond of their wives & use them well, yet it is not to be supposed they would take a greater share of work than other Indians. The women are indebted solely to their having horses for the ease they enjoy more than their neighbours. They are very fond of their children but seldom or never reprimand them.

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1. Duncan Cameron, in his Sketch of the Nipigon Country (Masson, II, 239-300), gives the following account of the daily work of the Sauteux women, and with few variations the same description would apply to the women of most of the other western tribes: 'Their women must, even in the severest weather, put up all these lodges, and cut all the fire wood, as a man would consider himself degraded by doing that work, even if he had nothing to do all the time, but he will sit quietly smoking his pipe and hurrying them in the work. The man goes off early in the morning with his medicine bag, his gun, powder horn, shot pouch, his axe and ice chisel and leaves the women to fold their covering, pack up and haul along every thing they have. If they have daughters, they give each a load in proportion to their strength, and their youngest children they carry on their backs tied up standing in a sort of cradle peculiar to the country and well wrapped up in moose or rabbit skins, with a blanket over the whole to screen them from the inclemency of the weather. The women must dress the leather, make and mend the shoes of the whole family, skin and dress all their furs, mend their clothes, cook, put up and take down the lodge, cut and carry home all the fire wood, kindle the fire every morning, dry the men's shoes and rub them quite soft before they presume to present them to their husbands in the morning. They must set and attend the nets whenever they fish, and generally serve their husbands even if they were doing nothing at the time, and themselves very busy.'

They live upon Buffaloes & Deer, very few of them eat Bears or Beaver flesh, but when compelled by hunger; they eat no fish. They are most improvident with regard of provision. It is amazing what number of Buffaloes or other quadrupeds the[y] destroy—Yet 2 or 3 days after a very successful hunt the beef is gone. When hunting they take but the fattest and cut part of an animal and leave the remainder; but it is no wonder that in a country abounding so much in Deer of all kind & Buffaloes & where the inhabitants kill it with so much ease to themselves, being always on horseback, that their love of good eating should expose them to the danger of a temporary fast. As deer keep generally in the woods it bears but little proportion to the Buffaloes that are Killed, excepting Cabri a small Kind of Deer resembling the Roe which always Keeps in the open country.

The hunting matches are regulated by a band of Young men who have much authority causing them to encamp or flit at their pleasure tell them where there are Buffaloes & to go hunting, they prevent them from setting one after another and make those that are first ready wait for the others so that they may all go together and have an equal chance. Those that behave refractory to their orders are punished by a beating or their arm are broken or their tents cut to pieces.

It is generally an old Chief who conducts their business and causes his orders to be executed by those young men whom we call soldiers. Every young man enjoys that Dignity in his turn. There are generally 10 or 12 chosen at a time for that purpose, both the Conductor and the young men are chosen by the other Chiefs. As long as the conductor is pleased with the post he keeps it, upon his resignation another person is chosen. Their Authority does not extend to every thing they only regulate the great hunting matches & the encampments, in every thing else every one does as he pleases. They also regulate the medicin feasts. The Conductor as he is called never does anything of consequence without consulting the other Chiefs, and it is in consequence of the resolution taken in Council that he harangues and acts. His tent is thrown down the first when the[y] rise the camp, he goes fore most all the way (except a

few young men who go far before as scouts) and pitches his tent the first, all the other encamp about him. Previous to their flitting he rides about the Camp, and tells them to throw down their tents that they are going to such a place & for such and such reason. Some of the Soldiers go far ahead and others remain far behind to watch and see if there be no enemies. When Buffaloes are seen on the Road and the[y wish] to hunt the[y] cause the people to stop and the old man harangues from one end to the other. When all are ready the hunts men set off and the body of the people follow slowly.

When a quarrel happens between two persons they interfere and try to reconcile them by fair means (that is when they push their quarrels to far) but I do not know that they ever employed an authoritative one. Generally a present of a horse or Gun is made to the offended person, as the means of reconciliation, but there happen few quarrels, and they are generally occasioned by their wives and jealousy. The young men seldom hunt until they are married, their whole time previous to that epoch being dedicated to dress and parade.<sup>1</sup> A Young Man rises late in the morning, about midday he begins to dress & has not finished till late in the evening, he then mounts on his horse on whom he has spread 2 *fais* Red and Blue and in Company with his associates he rides about the camp, with the wing of a Bustard or Hawk before his face in lieu of a fan to keep him from the burning sun, at night he dismounts courts the women or goes to the place of rendez-vous and at day light comes in to sleep. The married men dress fine but when the[y] rise the camp and on certain occasions. To please the females and attract their attention is the motive of the young mens attention to dress. They in their turn turn as clear and fine as they can to please the young men. I have seen courtship carried on in much the same manner as we do, whither it is their usual custom of wooing the girls before marriage<sup>2</sup> or not I do not know

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1. 'It is remarkable,' says Maximilian, 'that the men are far more vain than the women, and the latter are obliged to be greatly inferior to the lords of the creation in their attire and adornments. A warrior takes more time for his toilette than the most elegant Parisian belle.' See Catlin, I, 112, on the Indian dandy.

2. On Indian courtship, see Catlin, I, 120; Maximilian, II, 279; Harmon, 294; James McKenzie (Masson, II, 417); Peter Grant (Masson, II, 319.)



as I could not get the proper information; but some attention & deference seems to be paid to the young females.

I do not know what they believe as to their origin or their opinions, more than they believe in Good and Bad Spirits, and in a Supreme Master of life. A pipe is never smoked without the first whiffs being offered to the rising midday and setting sun, to the earth, to the heavens, to these the stem is pointed to the respective place they occupy and a whiff blown to the same quarter, then a few whiffs are blown to diverse spirits which the smoker names and to whom he mutters a few words and then the pipe goes round each person smoking 4 whiffs & no more. The pipe must always [go] to your left hand man, as that is the course that the sun takes. What they call spirits are quadrupeds or fowls which the[y] think act as guardians angels. They have no notion of spirits in the [sense] that we have it is certain, but the[y] believe that these are invisible beings who have the power to do them Ill or Good and to them they make their offerings. One thinks it is the Moon that watches over him and another thinks that it is a Bea or Mouse and so on. It is their dreams that cause them to worship one thing rather than another, but the sun, moon, stars, heaven and earth are of General worship & an Oath on one of them is reckoned inviolable. Their is not an animal, fowl, reptile or insect that is not worshiped by some of these indians who think that the object of his worship can save his life and render him invaluable,<sup>1</sup> whether it be a [bee] or a mouse. Inanimate things, such as a ball & stone, etc., are likewise thought to be able to do good or hurt.

They have no representation of the thing they worship, as Idols nor do they pray at any other time but when lighting their pipes. They have great medicine feasts, but these they make only in the fall, and I had no opportunity of seeing them. They are not superstitious with regard to the pipe which is the object of their most sacred regard. Numberless are the ceremonies attended on smoking a pipe of tobacco. The regulations common to all are these, the pipe and stem must be clean, a coal must be drawn out of the fire to light the pipe with, care must

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1. This should perhaps have been 'invulnerable.'

2. Meaning not quite clear.

be taken not to light the pipe in the flames or ashes and none must empty the ashes out of the pipe but he that filled or lighted it. There being but little fire I once lighted the pipe in the Ashes. My Landlord told me a few days after that his eyes were sore and my lighting the pipe in the ashes was the occasion thereof. Some will not smoke if the pipe has touched grass, another if there are women in the tent, if there are guns, if shoes are seen when smoking, if a part of wearing apparels be thrown over the pipe, if some one blows in the pipe stem to clean it, if the pipe pass over *Assichimous*. some will not allow the stem before the Door, another must empty the ashes on Cowdung brought in on purpose, another again will not smoke unless every smoker be naked and none but smokers are allowed to remain in the tent, to one the pipe must be given the stem foremost, to another the reverse, another will not take it unless you push it to him as hard as you can, to some it must be given quite slowly. In short every man has his particular way of smoking from which it seems he has vowed never to swerve and cause to be attended by those with whom he smokes or he would think himself under the displeasure of that invincible thing (his guardian angel) and incur its resentment, he therefore in such case does penance. A pair of leggings were thrown over a pipe stem, a person present whose [vow] forbade any such doings in his presence had the contents of the stem which was full of tobacco juice blown in his mouth & he swallowed it; the potion he took was so disagreeable that he was near fainting but he attributed his weakness to anger of the Deity that had been offended. Some who are to ceremonious in their smoking do not smoke but with their intimates and those that are well acquainted with their mummery; those that are less so take care to sit next to a man that Knows in what manner the pipe is to be given to them. The women never smoke. Before the smoking begin, he that has some peculiarity in his way of smoking tells in what manner it is, and every one attends to.

Their Doctors perform their cure by the application of simples with very few of which they are acquainted and by blowing on the afflicted part, smoking and singing, they likewise burn the leaves of Fir trees on some coals, the phisician spreads his hand over the wound as close as possible without

touching it. Internally they have purging Roots which they take, and prepare some other, but as none was sick while I was with them I had no opportunity of seeing them perform any cure of consequence. They appear to be a healthy people. They have no other tame animals but Dogs and horses, few of the former but many of the latter whom they use on all occasions, for war and for hunting, they have them in trade from the flat head Indians<sup>1</sup> in great numbers and very cheap. They sell part to the Big Bellys and Mandans at double the price they purchase them and carry a continual trade in that manner. They had as yet given no Guns or amunition to the Flat head Indians in exchange of horses, but this year as they have plenty they intend giving them some. He is reckoned a poor man that has not 10 horses in the spring before the trade at the Missouri takes place and many have 30 or 40, every body rides, men, women & children. The female ride astride as the men do. A child that is too young to keep his saddle is tied to it, and a small whip is tied to his wrist, he whips away and gallops or trots the whole day if occasion requires. Their saddles are so made as to prevent falling either backwards or forward,<sup>2</sup> the hind part reaching as high as between the shoulders and the fore part of the breast. The women saddles are more especially so. Those of the men are not quite so high, and many use saddles such as the Canadians make in the N.W. Country.

They are excellent riders, being trained to it from their infantry. In war or hunting if they mean to exert their horses to the utmost the[y] ride without a saddle. In their whelings and evolutions they often are not seen, having only a leg on the horse back and clasping the horse with their arms around his neck, on the side opposite to where the ennemy is. Most of their horses can be guided to any place without bridle, only by leaning to one side or the other they turn immediately to the side on which you lean, and will not bear turning until you resume a direct posture. They are very fond of their horses and take good care of them; as soon as a horse has a sore back he is not used until he is healed; no price will induce a man to

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1. Flathead Indians, of whom Larocque has something to say later. The name was applied rather loosely to several different tribes whose homes were west of the Rocky Mountains.

2. Either Spanish saddles, obtained from the south, or native saddles patterned on these.

part with a favorite horse on whom he places confidence for security either in attack or flight.

They say that no equal number of other Indians can beat them on horseback, but that on foot they are not capable to cope with those nations who have no horses. They pass for brave and courageous among their neighbours. They seldom go to war, or to steal horses, but defend themselves with courage when attacked. They Keep an excellent look out and have always Young men night and day at 2 or 3 miles from the Camp upon the watch, besides they often send parties of young men on a two or three days scout on the road they intend to take. Any person of any nation going to their Camp will be well treated and received, but when coming at night or seen skulking about need not expect mercy. They cut and hash to pieces their enemies slain in battle but do not eat them. The young men and children seeks the Blood and plays with the Carcass, but I have not seen any Chief or respectable person meddle with the dead bodies. On the day they have got a scalp and the two ensuing ones they dance in the evenings. Their scalp dance is as follows, as I saw them dancing it when they Killed two Assiniboines.<sup>1</sup> 17 young men, their face painted black and dressed as fine as possible stood in a demi circle singing and beating time with Drums and Shrisiquois or Rattles; before them 30 young women dressed in the war habillements of the men & carrying their weapons, their faces black danced to the music of the young men, 2 of them carried the scalps tied to the *Enclosa Pole*, they danced in a circle & while dancing they advanced slowly towards the Center making the ring smaller, they then returned to their former station and began again, and shaking their heads always in union with the music. There were soldiers standing out side of the ring to prevent the people from thronging to much on the dancers. About the middle of the ceremony one of the Chiefs took hold of the bridle of a horse on which rode a young man plainly dressed & led him in the middle of the Dancers haranguing at the same

1. See Journal, p. 40, Catlin's account of the scalp dance, I, 246, and plate 104.

2. What 'enclosa pole' means is not clear. Possibly an error in transcription. See Catlin's plate 104.



time, the young man had Killed one of the Assiniboines. The chief then led him out, and they danced again, the other person who Killed the 2 Assiniboines was led in the Circle in the same manner by another Chief and a little after the dance finished. At night a band of young men walked about the Camp singing they stopped at the door of every Chief and sang songs in which were rehearsed the exploits of the Chief at whose door they were. These ceremonies continued 3 days. In the day time the scalps were tied to the bridle of horses on which young men rode singing & beating the Drums.

Their arms are bows & arrows lances & guns when they go to war they take their medicine bags<sup>1</sup> at least the Chief of the party does, when they have found out their enemies & on the point of beginning the attack the bag of medicin is opened, they sing few airs but very shortly smoke and then attack. It is generally at the break of day that they fall upon their enemies when they are fast locked in the arms of sleep. One of the Chiefs has part of a magic lanthorn on which he reckons as upon his chief support. The figures that are painted on the glass he thinks are spirits & that they assist him, he never leaves them behind when he goes to war.

They are excellent marks men with the bows & arrow but poor shots with the gun, but they practice dayly of late years they have more ammunition than usual.

They have never had any traders with them, they get their battle Guns, ammunitions etc from the Mandans & Big Bellys in exchange for horses, Robes, Leggings & shirts, they likewise purchase corn, Pumkins & tobacco from the Big Bellys as they do not cultivate the ground.

Their Dress for Men & Women.

The men weare tight leggins, made of the skin of Cabri or other small deer reaching up to the hips and the end tucked in a belt or girdle the seam is ornamented with beads, porcupine quills horse and human hair dyed with divers Colours.

Their Shirts are made of the same kind of skin and are composed of 3 skins, 2 making the body and one the Sleeves, the skins are joint together in the shoulder only & the sleeves

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1. Catlin describes minutely the medicine bag and its miscellaneous contents, I, 35-8, plate 18.

also which are left open under the pit of the arm; the neck of one of the skins hangs on the breast and the other behind they are guarnished on the sleeves with the same materiols as the Leggings, and their shoes are likewise decorated in the same manner and are made in the manner of mittens having a seam round the outside of the foot only without pleat. Over this part of dress they wear a Buffaloe Robe on which is painted their war exploits, or garnished with beads and porcupine quills over the seam. A slip of Wolf or Skunk skin is generally worn round the ankle and is left to drag behind as they walk, bits of red Cloth are sewed to it. The skin of the Bears foot with the Claws the[y] wear on the breast with as many buttons as they can find sewed to it, 12 or 15 Bears Claws threaded and tied round their neck is also very fashionable.<sup>1</sup> Over their forehead suspended from their hear are two skins of Coloured Beads, with a few Hawk Bells or buttons, a little horse hair stained yellow which dangles on each side their nose, on their head they wear a *Killion* feather belt of brass & tin. None of them are . . . . . those who have long hair gum them into 10 or 12 plat plastered over with white earth, except the end which is well combed. Those whose hair is not long enough lengthen them with horse hair which they gum to their own and divide in the same manner as the other. I saw one that had two large white horsetails gummed to his hair, that was as black as sloe, when he walked the hair dragged 2 feet behind him on the Ground, they are fond of long hair.<sup>2</sup>

The women's dress consist in a pair of leggins reaching to the middle of the thigh tied with a garter below the knees, they wear no hair in their ornaments, but the seams of their leggins are covered with blue beads (which is the kind they are most fond of) and buttons when they can have them. Their leggins are round like stockings and have no fringes as the men's their shift or cottillon reaches mid leg and lower and are made of Elk skin, but the fine ones are made of two large Cabri or Mountain Ram skins, like the man's shirts the bottom or lower part is cut out into fringes and garnished with Porcupine. The

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1. Maximilian, II, 261-2.

2. Catlin, I, 49-50.

skins are joined below as high as the Ribs where an aperture is left on each side to suckle their children. The sleeves are joined to the body of the shirt on the shoulders only and encircle the arm from the elbow to the wrist, the upper part of the arm being covered only outside, but part of the leather is left to flap down so as to hide the pit of the arm.<sup>1</sup>

Their Robes and shoes are likewise garnished, but the former are never painted, they wear no ornament on their head, paint their faces red. The Children of both sexes are dressed in the same manner as The Sex they belong to, the boys go naked till they are 8 or 10 years of age, not for want of Clothes, but to be more at their ease, but the girls never. Both sexes are very Cleanly, washing and bathing every morning in the river, and in Winter in the snow, they keep their Clothes always clean, and as white as snow, with a kind of white earth resembling chalk, with which they dayly clean their Cloths. This earth has not only the property of whitening but also clears leather & cloth of spots of grease and other dirt, it is an article they are never without. A woman never sets the Kettle on the fire in the morning without first washing her hands, and the men do not eat without the same precaution.

They seldom wear breech Cloths, except when they do not put on their leggins, as their leggins are so made that if they had a waist band they might be called trousers. They wear shells and Beads in their ears, but they do not cut them as the Sautaux & Sioux.

One of them had the tail of a Spanish cow in his Medicin Bag, and when he intended to dress fine or went to war he would put it on his head. They cut their hair and scarify their limbs at the death of their Relations. They are fond of small blue glass beads that they get from the Spaniards but by the second or third man.

The low waters are Generally in September.

Their Language is evidently a Corruption of the Sioux<sup>2</sup> as is the Mandan and Big Belly's to which last it bears most

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1. On women's dress, see Maximilian, II, 265; Catlin, I, 51, 204. Compare Harmon, 275, and Alexander Mackenzie, xciv, on women's dress among the Crees and other northern tribes.

2. For references on vocabulary, names, gentes, etc., see James C. Pilling's 'Bibliography of the Siouan Languages,' p. 22.

affinity and resembles in the same degree as the Kinistinaux does the Algonquin or Chipway.<sup>1</sup>

	Big Bellys	Rocky Mountain
one	Nowaza	ama té
two	Nomba	Nomba
three	Nomini	Namini
four	Tobas	Shobas
five	Kichon	Kichons
six	Akaw was	Akaw
seven	Shapoïs	Sapoïs
eight	Noobassé	Noobassé
nine	Noobetzapé	Amatapé
ten	Pirakau	Pirakau
100	Pirakau tié	Piraké sash
20	Noombau Pirakas	the same
	&c	&c
large	Eties	Se
small	Carishta	Casota
head	Auto	Austio
River	Amjé	Amjé
knife	Matse	Mitsé
man	Matray	the Same
woman	Meay	Meay
my child, male	Matijay eshié	Matsay sa
robe	Ituwjé	I saw jé

1. 'The Algonquian speaking peoples,' says Pilling, 'covered a greater extent of country, perhaps, than those of any other of the linguistic stocks of North America, stretching from Labrador to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Churchill River of Hudson Bay to Pamlico Sound in North Carolina.' Preface to 'Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages.'

2. Maximilian gives the following, in his Vocabulary of the 'Minnitarris or Grosventres':—one, *nowassâ*; two, *dûupa*; three, *nâhwi*; four, *tohpâ*; five, *kechû*; six, *akahuâ*; seven, *schâchpu*. It will be seen that, with the exception of two, Larocque's vocabulary corresponds pretty closely with that of Maximilian. Maximilian does not include the numerals in his vocabulary of the Crow language.



They make very expressive signs with their hands to person that does not understand their language, they often told me long stories without hardly opening their lips & I understood very well. They represent a Sioux by passing the edge of their hand across their neck, a Panis by showing large ears, a Flat head by pressing with both hands on each side their head etc.

All the animals in their country are the following

Buffaloes	Fallo Deer or	Kitts <sup>2</sup>
Bears	Chevreuil	a few Foxes
Beavers	of both kinds	a Kind of Tiger
a few Otters	White Bektails <sup>1</sup>	(which I suppose is
Elk Deer	Vid: (a) on the	the pant[h]er like
Cabri	following page	that of the alle-
Large Horned Ani- mal <sup>4</sup>		gany Mountains) <sup>3</sup>

(a) this is a Kind of small animal who live in holes in the ground like Badgers, but assemble in very large bands and make a kind of village. Upon any disturbance they issue out of their [holes] and bark at what disturbs them with a great deal of virulence.<sup>5</sup> It is hard to get a shot at them as they stand upon the borders of their holes and jump in upon the least motion. When Killed they fall in their holes from whence it is difficult to get them out. Captain Lewis caught one by filling its hole with water & as it always rose above the water upon its appearance it was caught hold of and Kept all winter in a cage at their fort on the Missouri. It fed of flesh & roots, they are of the size of a Musk-rat and of a Greyish colour, numbers of them of their village are to be seen about the Missouri & some are 3 or four acres in circumference.

Of fowls along the River Roches Jaunes I saw a flock of birds like the Grouse, much larger having a broad [tail?]

1. Prairie dogs (*Cynomys ludovicianus*.)

2. Kit foxes (*Vulpes velox*), or, perhaps, coyotes (*Canis latrans*.)

3. Puma, variously known as catamount, mountain lion, American lion, cougar, panther or painter. Its range is 'from Canada to Patagonia, especially among the mountains.'

4. See previous notes on Cabri, and Large-horned animal.

5. See Catlin's graphic description of a prairie dog village near the banks of the Missouri, I, 76-7, and plate 42.

which is spread when flying.<sup>1</sup> I could not shoot any of them they were lying on the ground among herbs and I never saw them until they were gone and flying; the whole flock did not rise upon the flight of one but each went off as it was disturbed in the same manner as the Groners, or as we call them her Pheasants.<sup>2</sup>

The Flat heads inhabite the western side of the Rocky Mountains at the heads of Rivers that have a S. Western course & flow in the western ocean. The Ridge of Mountains that parts those waters with the Missouri can be crossed in two days and no more mountains are found to the ocean. They come every fall to the fort of the Missouri or there about to kill Buffaloes of which there are none across that range of mountains, dress robes, dry meat with which they returned as soon as the Winter set in. They have Deers of different Kinds on their lands and Beaver with which they make themselves Robes, but they prefer Buffaloes. They have a great number of horses which they sell for a trifle and give many for nothing. They say there is white people who inhabit the lower parts of the River upon whose lands they dwell from whom they get glass beads and a kind of small cylindrical stick like wampoon.<sup>3</sup> Those people they say carry on no fur trade. The Beaver these Indians kill are singed & the skin eat with the flesh. They spear both fish and Beaver with darts made of Deers horns, they live part of the year upon fish, which by the description they give of it I think is Salmon.

When ever they get a brass Kettle from their neighbours they do not use it for culinary purposes but cut it into small pieces with which they ornament and decorate their Garments and their hair. Elk teeth are likewise very orna[men]tal among them and they will give a horse for 70 or 80 of them. They trade chiefly with the Ererokas and give horses & horn bows for such articles as the Ererokas get from us, the Mandans and Big Bellys. The arrows they make use off in war are poisonous and are much smaller than those they make use off

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1. Prairie chicken, otherwise, prairie hen, prairie grouse (*Tympanuchus Americanus*.) Inhabits the prairies, from the Saskatchewan south. See description in Lewis and Clark, I, 201.

2. Pheasant, ruffed grouse, partridge, common to the wooded districts of Canada and the Northern United States.

3. Wampum. See Franchère, 244-5.

hunting.<sup>1</sup> They generally fight on horseback & have 2 bows and 2 quivers full of arrows, with which they defend themselves and greatly annoy their enemies even in flying. They are expert horsemen. They represent their country as so very good that what fruit trees groes here as shrubs are there tall tree. They generally speak very low, their language is very difficult to be learned, none of the surrounding nations speaking it, it resembles the sound made by a number of small bits of glass shaken together. Their bows are almost all made [of] the horns of different Kind of Deers and of one piece. They never saw a Moose Deer.<sup>2</sup>

The Snakes dwell east of the Flat heads upon the same range of mountains and on the head of rivers that have likewise a southerly course. They say there is much beaver on their lands and that they partly dress with it, they are all on good terms with the Rocky Mountains with whom they carry on such a trade as the Flat Heads. This nation is very numerous & each tribe has different names.<sup>3</sup> The more southern tribes hape dealings with the white of New Mexico from whom they get thick striped Blankets Bridles & Battle axes in exchange for Buffaloes robes and Deer Skins, but it is probable that this trade of the Snakes is carried on at a second or third hand and that they themselves have no direct trade with the Spaniards. One of their tribes has been destroyed and the remainder being about 12 tents live with the Rocky Mountain Indians who are at peace with the whole nation & from whom they get in trade a kind [of] sweet intoxicating herb which they smoke as tobacco. Their pipes are made of a transparent stone. They have horn bows & horses which they give in exchange of knives, tobacco etc. This nation as well as the Flat heads trade as yet

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1. Lewis & Clark's description of the bows and arrows and quivers of the Shoshones agrees with what Larocque here says of those of the Flatheads, except that nothing is said as to the use of poisoned arrows, nor have I been able to find confirmation of this elsewhere. (Lewis & Clark, I, 151.)

2. The moose is not found west of the Rocky Mountains, nor is it known to have ranged as far south anywhere in these latitudes, in western America.

3. 'The Shoshonees are a small tribe of the nation called Snake Indians, a vague denomination, which embraces at once the inhabitants of the southern parts of the Rocky mountains and of the plains on each side.' Lewis & Clark, I, 445.

no guns from the Ererokas but this year the Ererokas intend selling them a few as they have many.

From the following few words of their language it can easily be observed that they must be of a quite different origine of the Big Belly's and Rocky Mountain Indians.<sup>1</sup>

One—Shemits.

Two—Wawk.

Three—Pa its

Four—Waw tsouts.

Five—waw ni kith.

Six—waw watch.

Seven—tawt souts.

Eight—na waw tsouts.

Nine—sheman down.

Ten—Toshamb.

11—Shemits shemandow.

12—Wawk o mandon.

13—Past o mandow.

20—Wawk on torhamb.

Far—Mawnatow.

Near—Mush tits.

Good—tsanti.

Bad—tish tsent.

I love you—Makaw makan.

Come—Keman.

Go—Mean.

Run—Kech tan.

The[y] call themselves Sho shone that tribe that I saw at the Rocky Mountains.

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1. The Shoshones were a distinct linguistic family, of which the Snakes were one of the northerly tribes, others ranging as far south as Mexico. The Minnetarees and Crows were of Siouan stock.



October, 1805.<sup>1</sup>

Upon my arrival at the River la Sourie I found Mr. Pierre Rocheblave<sup>2</sup> who was proprietor and Bourgeois of the Department in Mr. Chabilly's stead, who was transferred to fort Dauphin department.<sup>3</sup> I passed a very pleasant winter with this Gentleman and F. N. Lamoth<sup>4</sup> nothing remarkable occurring during the whole winter. I made a couple of trip to the Indian tents in the course of the winter and the remainder of the time I passed chiefly in reading as there were plenty of books at the place.<sup>5</sup> Lamoth went to take charge of Appell Fort<sup>6</sup> in the place of Poitras<sup>7</sup> who was going out. On the 28 Mr. Rocheblave left this place (very sick) for Kaministiquia.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Falcon likewise went out this year<sup>9</sup> and no Clerk remained inland but those that had or was serving an apprenticeship at R.Q.A.<sup>10</sup> and River la Sourie, where I was myself with two others. I

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1. In printing Larocque's Journal, the arrangement of the original has been strictly adhered to, though it might have been more convenient to insert what here follows at the end of the Journal proper, before the 'Observations on the Rocky Mountain Indians.' Larocque returned to River La Souris fort, as stated at the conclusion of the Journal of his journey to the Rocky Mountains, on October 22nd, 1805. He now proceeds to describe briefly the incidents of the winter 1805-06 and the succeeding summer.

2. Pierre Rastel de Rocheblave was one of the pioneers of the Northwest Company; he joined the X. Y. Company in 1801; signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5th, 1804, by which the two companies were amalgamated; and replaced the elder Chaboillez in the Assiniboine department in 1805.

3. Included in the country about Lake Dauphin, in what is now Western Manitoba.

4. Very little is known of this man, beyond what Larocque says of him here, and the disastrous incident described by McDonald of Garth, to be referred to in a later note. McDonald says he was of a respectable family.

5. This passing remark of Larocque's opens up the interesting question of libraries at the fur-trading posts in the west, including the famous little library at Fort Chipewyan, on the far-off shores of Lake Athabaska, as well as others of which we get random glimpses in the narratives of the fur-traders.

6. Rivière Qu'Appelle fort.

7. André Poitras, who was in charge of the N.W.C. post at the mouth of the Qu'Appelle, winter 1804-05.

8. This trip to Kaministiquia—or Kaministikwia, to adopt the spelling approved by the Geographic Board of Canada—adds an item to the very meagre particulars of Pierre de Rocheblave's connection with the western fur-traders.

9. Pierre Falcon. See previous not. 'This year,' that is, 1806.

10. Rivière Qu'Appelle.

passed the summer of 1804 at this place<sup>1</sup> and though Buffaloes were at a great distance we lived pretty well and I had greatly advantage over my neighbours the .....<sup>2</sup> in point of trade. This is the only place in the Assiniboine River where the ....<sup>3</sup> have a summer establishment so that Mr. Lamoth at R.Q.A. is without an opposition. Having very little to do I kept a set of books according to the station method of double entry so as not to forget it, in this and in reading I employed my leisure hours. Messrs. Chaboillez, Chr Henry, Hess McDowell paid me a visit in the course of the summer and [went] to the Missouri,<sup>4</sup> they returned with men who had passed the summer there on a trading jaunt.<sup>5</sup> On the last day of Aug: a man [arrived] from Kamt<sup>6</sup> belonging to lower Red River Department which was not ready to leave Kam: when they sat off. At the latter end of Sept. the brigade for this department arrived under the command of Big Joh. McDowell<sup>7</sup> the bourgeois of my first year in

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1. Fort Assiniboine, on the south side of the Assiniboine, near the mouth of the Souris. The date may be a slip of the pen for 1806. Otherwise, Larocque is harking back for a moment to the incidents of two years before. He has just been describing what happened during the winter of 1805-06, and the spring of 1806, so that what he now says may have been meant to refer to the 'summer of 1806.'

2. If the date 1804 is correct, Larocque's neighbours may have been either the Hudson's Bay Company, or the X Y company, or both. If 1806 is right, the reference must be to the Hudson's Bay Company. Harmon says in his Journal, under date June 27th, 1805: 'Here are three establishments, formed severally by the Northwest, X. Y., and Hudson's Bay Companies'; and Dr. Coues adds further particulars as to these posts (Henry-Thompson, I, 298.) As the junction of the Northwest and X Y Companies took place on Nov. 5th, 1804, (Masson, II, 482 *et seq*) Larocque's only trade rivals in 1806 would be the Hudson's Bay Company.

3. The reference is now clearly to 1806, and the Hudson's Bay Company.

4. Some confusion here, either on Larocque's part, or in the copy. The expedition referred to is Alexander Henry's Mandan Tour. He left Fort Assiniboine on July 14th, 1806, the party consisting of Alexander Henry, Charles J. B. Chaboillez, Allan McDonald, Toussaint Viandrie or Vaudry, Joseph Ducharme, Hugh MacEacan (McCracken), and a young Indian, Pautchauconce, Chaboillez's brother-in-law. (See Henry-Thompson, I, 304).

5. Henry and his party returned from the Missouri, Aug. 9th, 1806. Charles McKenzie and James Caldwell, who returned with Henry and the others, are no doubt the men referred to by Larocque.

6. i.e., Kaministikwia, or as Larocque generally spells it, Kaministiquia or Kaministiquia.

7. In Masson's 'Liste des Bourgeois,' &c., are included John MacDonnell, John McDonald (of Garth), and John Macdonald, all *bourgeois* or partners of the Company, but no McDowell, neither is the latter name found elsewhere in the literature of the fur-trade at this period. Probably Larocque's 'Big Joh. McDowell' may be identified as the *bourgeois*, John MacDonnell.

this country who was then coming from Montreal. Mr. Rocheblave having heard at Caministiquia of the death of his Brother Noel went down. Mr Macdonell<sup>1</sup> continued [me] in the command of the fort being that in which I summered and gave me a Commis<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lamoth. This young man had done very well at R. . . . .<sup>3</sup> It seems that notwithstanding the junction of the two companies<sup>4</sup> and the resolution they had taken of carrying in obligation<sup>5</sup> of all the differences, quarrels etc which the animosity of rival ship in trade had caused that the N.W. Comp. could not forget the Death of the villain King<sup>6</sup> which this Mr. Lamoth Killed in his own defence on the Sassratcheoin or fort des Prairies department, or rather Mr. A. N. McLod<sup>7</sup> being of those kind of men who can never think themselves forgiven by a person they have grossely injured, because they are themselves incapable of forgiving, and who will continue hate, illwill and offences to a person because they [expect] such from him themselves. this Mr McLeod with some others having influence enough on Mr McDonell made him promise that he would render Mr Lamoth's situation as irksome and as disagreeable as possible in order to make him leave the Country, they being hurt at the sight of a person who called to their minds the baseness of their proceedings towards him. Mr McDonell then in order to effect their design & his promise gave no command or employment what ever to the young man, would neither see nor

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1. Obviously the same mentioned as *bourgeois* a few lines above, which makes it clear that 'McDowell' should read 'McDonell.'

2. *i.e.*, clerk.

3. Probably, Rivière Qu'Appelle.

4. On Nov. 5th, 1804, as already mentioned.

5. Wiping out, or forgetting, is the evident meaning.

6. The shooting of King (James King is listed under the department of Upper Fort des Prairies and Rocky Mountains, in Roderick McKenzie's 'Arrangements of Proprietors,' Masson, I, 63) by La Mothe, near Fort de l'Isle, on the Saskatchewan, in 1801, is graphically described by John McDonald of Garth, in his *Reminiscences* (Masson, II, 25-26). There had evidently been bad blood between the two men, and La Mothe's defence was that he shot in self-defence. Larocque's fierce characterization of King as 'the villain' seems scarcely justifiable. McDonald, at any rate, thought highly of him. La Mothe was tried at Montreal and acquitted; or, as McDonald cynically puts it, 'he was of a respectable family and escaped.'

7. Archibald Norman McLeod, listed as *bourgeois* in 1804, Masson's list. See Coues' note, Henry-Thompson, I, 277. McLeod may have acted vindictively toward La Mothe, yet he could hardly have been as bad as Larocque paints him, for Harmon and other contemporaries speak of him in the highest terms.



speak to him and sent him to pass the winter with me hoping that such treatment would effectually rid them of him. Mr McDonell at different times expressed his sorrow at being obliged he said to use Mr Lamoth in that manner whom he knew did not deserve it but urged in excuse the necessity he was under of following the Directions of his fellow partners & the acquittance of his promise. Mr Lamoth bore this treatment with indignation but Concentrated within himself however not to a degree as to influence his usual good humor. he despised too much the author of it (whom he thought to be Mr McLeod) to suffer the thoughts to intrude long upon his mind. I found him an excellent companion and in the Course of time a friend. He rendered me all the services in his power and volunteered them every time, that the interest of the Company required it, which was very often in dangerous as well as disagreeable trips to the Indian tents & often did the duty of a common engagé<sup>1</sup> to promote the interest of those who illtreated him. I was absent 22 days at one time from my fort, during which time I gave him the charge of it, although I thought it would displease the Bourgeois. I found every thing on return in the best order possible in short I had numberless obligation to him & we passed an agreeable winter together. I had under me one Clerk and an interpreter one guide who served as Cooper & Interpreter and 9 men.<sup>2</sup> There was a Hudson Bay establishment on the opposite side of the River<sup>3</sup> in trading opposition, the master of which was named Thomas Vincent, he had 23 men with him, and a great quantity of goods. We entered into some agreements in the fall with regard to the Indians and the trade with them, which we inviolably Kept and which we found to be of mutual advantage.<sup>4</sup> My returns were superior

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1. Or *voyageur*, upon whom devolved the purely manual labour of the fur-trade.

2. Alexander Henry, on his arrival at Fort Assiniboine, July 12th, 1806, says: 'Mr. F. A. La Rocque has this post in charge for the summer. There are here three laboring men, an Assiniboine interpreter, and 40 women and children, almost starving. There are no buffalo in these parts at present, and they have finished what pemmican was left here last spring. Everything here bore the aspect of distress and desolation.' Larocque's cheerful narrative is in rather marked contrast to this tale of woe.

3. Brandon House, built in 1794, 'nearly or about opposite the mouth of Mouse (Souris) river.'

4. Compare Charles Mackenzie (Masson, I, 327.)



to those of last year at the same place and superior to my neighbours but the utmost exertions were used by me and Clerks, we were few men in comparison to our opponents, had 22 women and their family to feed. The Buffaloes our almost only resource were at a great distance, the men being hardly able to bring provision in fast enough for such a number of mouths, and with that our Indians & . . . . .<sup>1</sup> to watch and bring in, so that we were unremittingly and constantly on the go, but we succeeded in surpassing the expectation of our Bourgeois who thought that 50 Packs would be the utmost of our return and we had 55.<sup>2</sup> I wrote an exact Journal of every days transaction Kept regular account, and Knowing that I would not be there the ensuing winter I left the whole with a character of the Indians for the use of my successor.

In May I had the house and hangards<sup>3</sup> which were not of absolute an immediate necessity thrown down and had them rafted to a place called Pine fort<sup>4</sup> (from an old fort that had been there in Mr Robert Grants time) about 13 miles lower down the River in pursuance of directions from Mr J. McDonell who had planed the erection of a fort at that place, and the demolition of the one where I had wintered. Kept all the men that I could spare at work in rebuilding those hangards and before I left the place all the property was removed to the new fort, and under cover. In consequence of Letters I had received last fall from the family I had determined upon going out [to] Kaministicoia at least, and perhaps thence to Canada according to the contents of the Letters I would there receive would influence my mind. Mr McDonell wished me very much to remain as the young men that remained in land did not possess his entire confidence and the time prognosticated a hard

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1. Horses, probably.

2. Of the neighbouring post of Montagne à la Bosse, John McDonnell says that it 'turned out about 60 packs a year, mostly wolves and buffalo.'

3. Magazines or storehouses. James McKenzie, in his 1799 Journal (Masson, II, 386), speaks of the 'hangard which contains the ammunitions, high-wines, &c.'

4. John McDonnell notes in his Journal, under date Oct. 11th, 1793: 'Arrived at the Fort of the River *qui appelle*, called by Mr. Robert Grant, when he built it, Fort Espérance.' Masson, I, 294; also 271. This, however, was not Larocque's Pine Fort, which stood on the north side of the Assiniboine, west of Pine Creek. It was built in 1785, abandoned in 1794, and was variously known as Fort des Epinettes, or Fort des Pins.

and disagreeable summer to them, few men could be left with them and there was much work to be done.

On the 3rd June I left Pine Fort in Mr. Charles McKenzies care and embarked with Mr McDonell for Kaministicoia. The brigade with us, Mr Lamothe had been sent off with a single canoe 3 days before with directions to wait for us at the bottom of the Riper Ouinipegue.<sup>1</sup> We joined Mr. Henry at fork of the Red River<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Lamothe at Lake Ouinipegue—we all remained at Mr. Wm McBays fort<sup>3</sup> at the bottom of the River Ouinipegue 3 days in settling the mens accounts unloading the boats and canoes, giving the canoes their proper loads for Kaministicoia & different brigades from English River<sup>4</sup> and fort des prairies overtook us here. I embarked in the same canoe with Mr Lamothe. Mr McDonell gave us a profusion of the best kind of provision the country could afford for our voyage. he and other Bourgeois in half loaded canoes well manned<sup>5</sup> sat off a head and got much before us at Kaministicoia, at Lake La

1. Or Winnipeg river. *Bas de la Rivière*, was a familiar name in the palmy days of the fur-trade. The first trading post here was La Vérendrye's Fort Maurepas, built in 1734. It was the first of several, under the successive reigns of the NorthWest and Hudson's Bay Companies.

2. Where the city of Winnipeg now stands. See Coues' exhaustive note (Henry-Thompson, I, 43-5) on various posts at this point, from La Vérendrye's day down to the historic Fort Garry.

3. The fort was known as Fort au Bas de la Rivière, and is mentioned in the narratives of Alexander Henry, *the Younger*, Harmon and David Thompson. The latter calls it Winnipeg House, but the former name was that in general use. No such name as Wm. McKay in Masson's *Liste des Bourgeois*, or elsewhere in the literature of the fur-trade. It is evidently an error. Possibly Larocque misunderstood the name, or it may have been incorrectly copied from his original journal. Wm. McKay is listed as *bourgeois* in 1804, and signed the Montreal agreement of Nov. 5, 1804, as one of the wintering partners. He is frequently mentioned in David Thompson's journals; and may be Larocque's man. Or possibly the reference is to Wm. McCrea, or McRae, listed by Masson as clerk in the Lac La Pluie department in 1804.

4. This was one of the most important departments of the NorthWest Company, as may be seen from the formidable list of clerks, interpreters and voyageurs credited thereto in Masson's 1804 List. English river was one of the early names of the Churchill, given 'by or for Joseph Frobisher, 1786,' says Dr. Coues.

5. The partners of the NorthWest Company, like the chief factors of the Hudson's Bay Company, travelled 'light' in their visits to the various posts under their jurisdiction. See Malcolm McLeod's note on 'Light Canoes,' p. 41 of 'Peace River.' Sir George Simpson, of the Hudson's Bay Company, always 'had the best of canoe-men, Iroquois, and any extra Canadians who could keep up with them in quickness of stroke (60 a minute at times) and otherwise be up to their mark in the work.'

Pluie fort<sup>1</sup> I found some letters for me from Mr. McDonell in which he empowered me to take every thing I wanted at the fort to make our voyage pleasant and comfortable that fort being well stored with every Kind of provision.

I left my companion 'Lamothe at the Mountain<sup>2</sup> being the last portage on the way to Kaministicoia, there was a temporary establishment here, and Lamothe was directed to remain there until a Brigade for Montreal was ready to leave Kaministicoia when he would be sent for. This was the last mortification the poor young man had to endure from his employers. We slept but one night on our way down and the next morning we all arrived at the Grand Portage Kaministicoia which fort had been built to supersede the establishment of the Grand Portage<sup>3</sup> which being within the American Territory was liable to subject its proprietors to taxes & Imports from the American Government which to avoid the N.W. Comp. abandoned their Establishment at that place and erected new buildings upon a greater and more convenient site at the entrance of the River called by the Indians Kaministicoia, which name means the River whose en-

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1. Fort St. Pierre, built by La Jemeraye for La Vérendrye in 1731, stood at the outlet of Lac la Pluie, or Rainy lake; but a still earlier post had been built on the shores of the lake by De Noyon about 1688; and another by Zacharie Robutel de la Noüe in 1717. The N.W.C. post, Rainy Lake House, was on the north side of the lake, a little below Chaudière Falls. See Coues' note, Henry-Thompson, I, 20; and Judge L. A. Prud'homme's 'Tentatives infructueuses de pénétrer dans l'Ouest avant La Vérandrye.' (Trans. R.S.C., Second Series, Vo. XI, Sec. 1.

2. Mountain portage is mentioned by David Thompson, in his 'Journey from Kaministiquia to the West End of Lac la Croix, 1804,' vol. VII of the Thompson MSS, but according to his account, as well as the later record of S. J. Dawson, the last portage before you reached Kaministiquia was Lazy Portage. See Dr. Coues' exhaustive description of the Kaministiquia Route (Henry-Thompson, I, 217-218); and S. J. Dawson's 'Report on the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement,' for the Dawson Route, which for a portion of the way was identical with the Kaministiquia Route.

3. This was a notable place throughout the entire period of the fur-trade, French and English. La Vérendrye when he set forth in 1731 upon his romantic search for the Western Sea, sent his nephew La Jemeraye over the Grand Portage to Rainy lake, while he himself wintered at Kaministikwia. Jonathan Carver visited Grand Portage in July, 1767; and Alexander Henry, the *Elder*, in June, 1775. The first trading post must have been built some time about the latter year. In 1785 it was well established; and in 1797 a rival fort was built by the X Y Company. The N. W. Company removed their establishment, in 1803, from Grand Portage to the mouth of the Kaministikwia, where what was later known as Fort William was built. See Coues' note, Henry-Thompson, I, 6-7; and Sir Alexander Mackenzie's *Voyage, &c.*, (1801), xlviii-lxii.



trance is full of Islands and Inlets.<sup>1</sup> The bay of Lake Superior in which this River empties<sup>2</sup> is indeed full of large and beautiful Islands and so is the whole of the North Coast of that Lake. The vessels that sailed on that Lake can come at the very gates of the Fort, the River being deep, an there Load and unload.<sup>3</sup> Before the Conquest the French...had a fort and trading establishment at this very spot.<sup>4</sup>

[Left Lachine] on the 26th of April 1801, and arrived at the Grand Portage at the latter end of June.<sup>5</sup> From thence I was sent to Fort Charlotte,<sup>6</sup> and returned back. Some time afterwards I was sent to English River for wintering there. from this place I was sent to Fort Des Prairies and Red

1. Abbé E. F. Petitot, S.J., says that Kaministi Kweya means Wide river; the name has elsewhere been interpreted as Three Rivers. There have been innumerable variants in spelling of the Indian name. The first trading post was built here by Dulhut about 1678.

2. Thunder Bay.

3. The North West Company had several vessels on Lake Superior, at different times, carrying supplies to the great distributing point for the western departments, Fort William, and bringing thence rich cargoes of furs to Michilimakinac, where they were transferred to canoes for the long journey down to Montreal. In an anonymous Journal, among the Masson MSS in McGill University Library, the writer says, under date July 3rd, 1793: 'Stopped at Pointe aux Pins (north shore, Lake Superior) two leagues above the Sault. We found Mr. Nelson building a vessel for the North West Company to navigate the Lake Superior and to be called the Otter. She is to be launched shortly....The Athabasca which sailed the lake before her is to be floated down the falls of St. Mary to help the Beaver to bring the needful from Detroit and Mackinac to the Sault, which the Otter is supposed sufficient to convey from St. Mary's to the Grand Portage, and in return she takes a cargo of furs to the Sault when they are arrived from the north. Part of the Company's furs are sent round the lakes in shipping, but the major part goes down the Ottawa in the Montreal canoes.' Aug. 2nd, he adds, having in the meantime reached Grand Portage: 'Old Bazil Ireland the guide arrived with two Montreal canoes and brings the agreeable news of the Otter lying off Point aux Pins. Early next morning a boat well manned was sent to tow her up into port and to their surprise spied her behind the point a la Framboise after passing before the fort in the night with a north-west wind. It was ten o'clock before she anchored at the wharf having entered partly by sailing and partly by towing.' On Lake Superior, see John Johnston's 'Account of Lake Superior, 1792-1807,' in Masson, II, 145-174.

4. Fort Gamanitigoya, Kaministigoya, etc. See Prud'homme's paper, already cited.

5. What follows is a very fragmentary account of Larocque's movements from the time he left Montreal in 1801, to the date of his Rocky Mountain Journal.

6. At the western end of Grand Portage, on Pigeon river, 9 miles from the post known as Grand Portage.



River, passing lake La plue Fort, Assinibois River, River la Sourie Fort, Rapid River, River aux Bois Fort.<sup>1</sup>

1802 X Y Comp.

1803

1804

1805. februar fort of Mt a la Bosse. When I arrived at the Missouri in the fall, 1804, I found a party of 40 Americans under two Captains Clark & Lewis who were sent by their Government to explore the upper part of the Missouri & N.W. Countries to the pacific Ocean, they wintered at this place and on the 28th March 1805<sup>3</sup> proceeded on their voyage of discovery with 7 piroques having sent the boats in which they came as far as this place down loaded with all Kind of minerals, Roots, plants carcasses & skins of different animals, and many other things, which they deemed worth the attention of the literary world. I offered to accompany them on their voyage,<sup>4</sup> but for certain Governmental reasons they declined my proposal.

The Mandan Village is on the Missouri 1009 miles above the Confluence with the Mississipi taking in the windings of the River and

in North Latitude 47: 21: 40

Longitude

West of Grenwich 99: 24: 45

from observation of Captain Lewis and Clark.<sup>5</sup>

1. Rapid river, a branch of the Assiniboine, now known as Little Saskatchewan. 'River aux Bois Fort' is probably a slip for River aux Bosse Fort, or Rivière Fort de la Bosse, as Larocque elsewhere has it.

2. For an account of the origin and history of the X Y Company, see George Bryce's 'Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company,' chap. XVII.

3. The actual date was April 7th, 1805. See Lewis and Clark, (Hosmer ed.) I, 189.

4. 'Mr. Larocque, the trader from the northwest company, paid us a visit in hopes of being able to accompany as on our journey westward, but this proposal we thought it best to decline.' Lewis and Clark, I, 168.

5. Lewis and Clark give the latitude of Fort Mandan, their winter quarters on the Missouri, as 47° 21' 47".

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BY

ALEXANDER HUNTER MURRAY

EDITED WITH NOTES BY

L. J. BURPEE, F.R.G.S.

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# A JOURNAL OF THE YUKON IN 1848

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## INTRODUCTION.

Alexander Hunter Murray, the author of this Journal, was born at Kilmun, Argyllshire, Scotland, in the year 1818. He emigrated to the United States as a young man, and joined the American Fur Company, with which he remained for several years. His service with the American Fur Company must have taken him pretty far afield, as witness his familiar references to Balize, Lake Pontchartrain, and the Red River of Texas, in the present Journal. In the spring of 1846, accompanied by the late Mr. Brazeau (afterward of Edmonton), he found his way from the Missouri to Fort Garry, where he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as a senior clerk. He was appointed to the Mackenzie River District, under Chief Factor Murdoch McPherson, and set forth almost immediately for his post in the extreme north. His way lay by Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan to Cumberland House; thence by Frog portage to the Churchill, and by Methye portage (famous in the annals of the fur trade) to the river and lake Athabaska. Descending Slave river to Great Slave lake, he entered the mighty Mackenzie, and reported to the head of his department at Fort Simpson. Some where on his journey—perhaps at Fort Chipewyan, on Lake Athabaska—he had had the good fortune to meet the daughter of Chief Trader Colin Campbell, of the Athabaska District. After a brief courtship, they were married *à la contract*, by Chief Factor McPherson—there being no clergy so far north at that time. Murray and his young wife spent their honeymoon descending the Mackenzie, a long and, under the circumstances, no doubt delightful journey. Finally they reached the mouth of Peel river, and turned up to Fort McPherson, where they wintered.

In the early spring Murray took his wife over the mountains to Lapierre House, on Bell river. Returning to Fort McPherson, he made all preparations for the important journey



described in this Journal. Leaving the fort on June 11, 1847, he reached Lapierre House three days later. On the 18th he embarked with his men in the *Pioneer*, a stout river-boat built at Lapierre for the expedition, and set forth to the westward, his wife remaining at Lapierre. Murray's object was to build a post on the Yukon, a practicable route to which had been discovered three years before by Chief Trader John Bell. Bell, after exploring Peel river in 1839, and building Fort McPherson in 1840, had crossed the mountains to what was then known as Rat river—later named Bell, in honour of its discoverer. Descending this stream to its junction with a larger river known as the Porcupine, he explored the latter to some where about the present international boundary—three days' journey down stream. This was in 1842. Two years afterward he completed his exploration of the Porcupine to its mouth. The natives informed him that the great river into which the Porcupine emptied was called the Yukon—or Youcon, as the traders spelled it. As a result of this journey, it was decided to establish a post on the Yukon, near the mouth of the Porcupine, and, as already mentioned, Murray was entrusted with this important task.

Descending Bell river to the Porcupine, Murray reached the Yukon, June 25, and, after some difficulty, found a suitable site for his fort, about three miles above the mouth of the Porcupine, on the east bank of the Yukon. Thenceforward his journal is devoted to a detailed narrative of the building of Fort Yukon, and the visits of parties of Indians from up and down the river. Of these he offers us a lively description, and seems to have missed no opportunity of questioning them as to the character of their country, the fur-bearing and other animals found there, and the language, manners and customs of the inhabitants—all of which is duly recorded in his journal. After spending the winter at Fort Yukon, Murray left June 5, 1848, for Lapierre House, with the 'returns' of the new establishment. He rejoined his wife at Lapierre House, June 23, having been absent a little over a year.

Here his present journal ends, but a few words may be added as to his subsequent career, for which, as well as for the particulars of his life previous to the Yukon journey, the

editor is mainly indebted to Mr. Roderick MacFarlane, of Winnipeg, formerly Chief Factor in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Mr. Murray seems to have returned to Fort Yukon the same year, taking his wife with him. In 1850 he accompanied Robert Campbell (of whom something will be said later) to Lapierre House; and the following year finally left Fort Yukon, returning to Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie, where he spent the winter. In the autumn of 1852 he reached Fort Garry with his wife, and several children, who had been born to them in the north country. Murray spent the succeeding winter at Fort Pembina (now Emerson), of which he had charge for the Hudson's Bay Company, for several years, after which he was appointed to the management of the district of Lac la Pluie, or Rainy Lake, and Swan River. Returning to Pembina, he was promoted to a Chief Tradership in 1856. The following year, being in poor health, he made a trip to Scotland, where, curiously enough, he met Joseph James Hargrave, who a few years later was himself to become a resident of Fort Garry. When Hargrave came out in 1861, one of the first men he met on the banks of the Red river was Murray. The meeting took place at the little settlement of Georgetown, to which Hargrave had travelled overland from the south, on his way to Fort Garry.

'After supper I went for a stroll,' he says in his "Red River." 'Before we had proceeded fifteen yards I observed symptoms of occupancy about a house in the village which had during my short residence been shut up and uninhabited. On inquiry, I learned the house was the residence of the local representative of the Hudson's Bay Company, Chief Trader Murray, who had that afternoon arrived on board the steamer, accompanied by his family and servants; and as we passed his gate we encountered that gentleman himself standing at the entrance to the inclosure before his house smoking his evening pipe. On hearing my name Mr. Murray greeted me as an old acquaintance, but I ridiculed the idea, till he mentioned the fact of my having one morning walked to the Waverley Bridge Railway Station in Edinburgh along with him, when I at once remembered the circumstance as having occurred in 1857, after a night which Mr. Murray passed in the house where I lived at the time. I accounted for my forgetfulness by assuring the

gentleman that his European trip of 1857 had answered its health-restoring purpose so well that I would fail to recognize the Edinburgh invalid in him. . . . . We seated ourselves in a small porch, the walls of which were adorned with guns, shot-belts, and other implements of the chase, artistically hung, and Mr. Murray entered into full details relating to certain parts of the world he had visited. . . . . His own experience in Rupert's Land had been great and long continued—but the adventure on which he most prided himself, evidently, was his having founded the most remote post of the company, Fort Youcon, in Russian America, situated within one or two degrees of the Arctic circle.' Lewis H. Morgan had accompanied Hargrave from St. Paul, gathering material for his great work, 'Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family,' and while at Georgetown obtained valuable assistance from Murray in the filling out of his elaborate schedules of relationship, for several of the northwestern tribes.

About this time Murray was given charge of Lower Fort Garry, where he spent several seasons. He retired from the service of the company in 1867, and spent the remaining years of his life in quiet leisure on the banks of the Red river. For a time he made his home in a cottage below Lower Fort Garry, which he named 'Kilmun,' after his birthplace. Later he moved south a few miles to 'Bellevue,' where he died, in 1874, at the age of fifty-six, leaving several sons and daughters, some of whom are still living. His eldest son, Alexander Campbell Murray (born 1859), is, or was a few years ago, in charge of Fort St. James, in Northern British Columbia, for the Hudson's Bay Company. He entered the company's service in 1876. (Morice's "Northern Interior of British Columbia," 332).

To return to the Journal, although not recording an original exploration, it is of interest from more than one point of view. It is the earliest detailed description we have of much of the ground covered; it affords very full information as to the manners and customs of the Indians of the Yukon, at the time when British fur-traders first went among them; it records the establishment of what might be called the extreme outpost of the Hudson's Bay Company; and, finally, it throws an exceedingly interesting sidelight upon the policy and methods of the fur

trade. The principal objects of the journey were the building of Fort Yukon, and the opening up of trade with the tribes of the Yukon country. This brought the H. B. men into what was then Russian territory, and into competition and possible conflict with the Russian-American Company—as to which Murray has a good deal to say. That the Russians did not, as Murray evidently expected, attempt to drive him back on to British territory, may have been due, to some extent, to the fact that the Russian-American Company was on the point of arranging with the Hudson's Bay Company a renewal of the profitable Agreement of February 6, 1839. It was probably, however, primarily due to the uncertainty on the part of the Russians as to the new fort being on Russian or British territory. On the other hand, Murray was perfectly aware, and so admits frankly in his narrative, that he was building on Russian territory. The explanation of this geographical ignorance on the one side, and knowledge on the other, is simply this: the Russians, as will presently appear, had never been as far up the river as the mouth of the Porcupine, and consequently had only the vague reports of natives to guide them; while Murray had not only explored the ground, from the opposite direction, but, having the benefit of Sir John Franklin's observations for longitude on the Mackenzie, was able to take that as a base and reach at least an approximate estimate as to the position of the boundary. As will be seen in his narrative, he was somewhat out in his calculations. Still, there was no manner of doubt as to the mouth of the Porcupine being well within Russian territory. Murray seems to have deliberately invaded the ground of his rivals, though he had no shadow of right to either build or carry on trade west of the boundary. It was all in the game of the fur trade, and that game was a rough-and-tumble affair at the best. It is possible, though improbable, that Murray was not aware of the terms of the Agreement of 1839, expressly prohibiting such an establishment. The second article of that Agreement (repeated word for word in the renewal of 1849) reads: It is further agreed that the Hudson's Bay Company shall not trade with the Indians nor receive in trade or barter nor hunt any furs or peltries on any part of the Russian territory on the northwest coast or islands than that ceded to them under the provisions of the foregoing article.'



As the territory so ceded or leased was confined to the strip between Cape Spencer and Portland Canal, it was a clear breach of the Agreement to build a post and carry on trade on the Yukon within Russian territory. Nevertheless the Hudson's Bay Company retained possession of Fort Yukon, and carried on their trade there, with or without the consent of the Russian American Company, until the sale of Alaska to the United States, when they were peremptorily ejected. Captain Charles W. Raymond visited Fort Yukon in 1869, on behalf of the United States government. 'On the 9th of August, at 12 a.m.,' he says ("Report of a reconnaissance of the Yukon River, 1871," p. 16) 'I notified the representative of the Hudson Bay Company that the station is in the territory of the United States; that the introduction of trading goods, or any trade by foreigners with the natives, is illegal, and must cease; and that the Hudson Bay Company must vacate the buildings as soon as practicable. I then took possession of the buildings and raised the flag of the United States over the fort.'

The Hudson's Bay Company thereupon abandoned the post, and moved up the Porcupine river to the Ramparts, where they built Rampart House, a little to the east of  $142^{\circ}$ . The astronomical position of the fort not then being known, and there existing some doubt as to its lying within British territory, it was moved twelve miles up the river, to what was supposed to be undoubtedly the eastern side of long.  $141^{\circ}$ —the international boundary. That the true position of the new Rampart House remained in doubt up to a quite recent date appears, however, from the Canadian Geological Survey map, 1890, accompanying R. G. McConnell's "Report on an exploration in the Yukon and Mackenzie Basins" (Annual Report of the Geol. Survey, N.S., vol. iv), where it is shown on the United States side of the boundary, in fact west of long.  $141^{\circ} 30'$ . J. H. Turner, of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, who made a survey of the Porcupine on the American side, in 1889, found Rampart House to be in lat.  $67^{\circ} 08' N.$ , and long.  $141^{\circ} 46\frac{1}{2}' W.$ , 'nearly twenty miles west of the boundary.' As a result of these surveys, the Hudson's Bay Company in 1890 again moved Rampart House—this time to what was unquestionably Canadian territory.

As to the exploration of the Yukon river, and the extent to

which its discovery must be credited to the Russians, it does not appear possible to accept Murray's statements, in spite of the fact that he was on the ground, and could not have had the remotest reason for exaggerating the claims of his trade rivals. Dall, Petroff, Baker, and Whympers, all of whom went carefully into this question, and had at their command the original narratives of Russian explorers, agree that the Russians did not in any event ascend the river above the mouth of the Tanana. Ivan Petroff, in his "Report on the Population, Industries and Resources of Alaska," says that Glazunof explored the Yukon (then called the Kvikhpak) as far as Nulato, in 1836. Marcus Baker, in his Geographic Dictionary of Alaska, gives 1837-38 as the date of this first exploration, and says that in the latter year Malakof built a blockhouse at Nulato. Elsewhere the date of this establishment is given as 1839. It was burned by the natives, and rebuilt in 1841. Nulato is about four hundred miles above the mouth of the river. In June, 1843, Zagoskin, of the Russian Navy, explored the river for some distance above Nulato, in fact, as far as the mouth of the Nowikakat. Here the hostile attitude of the natives compelled him to turn back. He afterward published a voluminous journal of his travels in the valleys of the Yukon and Kuskovim. The Nowikakat seems to have been the extreme point reached by the Russians at the time of Murray's journey. Some time after the building of Fort Yukon, Russian traders ascended the river to Nuklukayet on the west bank, a few miles below the mouth of the Tanana. Dall ("Alaska and its resources," 276-7) is of the opinion that this did not take place until about 1860; but A. H. Brooks, of the United States Geological Survey, thinks it probable that the date was about 1850. In any event, it was after, not before, Murray's visit, and the point then reached was still a long way below Fort Yukon. In a letter dated October 24, 1908, to the Geographer of the Department of the Interior, Mr. Brooks says: 'The reason why the Russian traders never ascended the river above Nuklukayet is obvious—their clumsy boats would be unmanagable in the swift water which prevails through much of the Rampart region above. The same point seems to have been reached by the Hudson Bay traders, who descended the river from Fort Yukon for the purpose of barter with the natives. [This was, of course, after 1837.] If any confirma-

tory evidence were needed that the Russians were familiar with the Yukon as far as the mouth of the Tanana, it would be found in the fact that the lower Tanana natives have included a large number of Russian words in their vocabulary. As it is known that they did not descend the Yukon, they must have acquired these by contact with the Russian traders at the mouth of the Tanana.\*

In view of this evidence, it does not seem possible to accept Murray's statements, positive though they are, that the Russians had explored the Yukon, not only to the mouth of the Porcupine, but even to the headwaters of the Yukon, before John Bell or Robert Campbell appeared on the scene. Murray's information was obtained from the natives, through an interpreter, and it is probable that he, or they, may have unwittingly credited to the Russians the explorations which Campbell had been carrying forward on the Liard and Pelly rivers. In any event, Murray's evidence cannot be accepted as sufficiently conclusive to take from Campbell the honour of discovering and exploring the Yukon from its upper waters to the mouth of the Porcupine.

The narrative of Campbell's explorations is contained in a pamphlet, "The Discovery and Exploration of the Youcon [Pelly] River," published at Winnipeg, in 1885, and this is supplemented by information obtained from him by the late Dr. George M. Dawson, and embodied in the latter's "Report on an Exploration in the Yukon District" (Geol. Survey Report, N.S., Vol. III). From these sources it appears that in May, 1840, Campbell left Fort Halkett, on the Lower Liard, and ascended that river to a lake which he named Frances, in honour of Lady Simpson. Shouldering blankets and guns, Campbell and his men ascended the valley of a river which they traced to its source in a lake named by him Finlayson's. From here he struck across to the Pelly, so named by Campbell in honour of Governor Pelly of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1842 Fort

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\* "The sketch of the river below the mouth of the Porcupine (on Arrowsmith's 1854 map) appears to have been due to the Hudson Bay Company's traders, who, before Campbell had communicated his geographical information in London, in 1853, had already met the Russian traders at the mouth of the Tanana. Much later, in 1863, I. S. Lukeen, of the Russian Trading Company, ascended the river to the Hudson Bay post, Fort Yukon, at the mouth of the Porcupine."—G. M. Dawson. "Yukon District," Geol. Survey, 1887-8.

Pelly Banks was built, and in June of the following year Campbell descended the Pelly to the mouth of a stream which he named the Lewes, after John Lee Lewes, of the Hudson's Bay Company, when the hostility of the natives forced him to turn back. In June, 1848, he returned and built a fort at the confluence of the Pelly and Lewes rivers, which he named Fort Selkirk. Two years later he continued his exploration of the Yukon down to Fort Yukon, where Murray was still stationed, and with him ascended the Porcupine, to Lapierre House. Crossing the mountains to Fort McPherson, he finally ascended the Mackenzie and reached Fort Simpson—to the astonishment of the officers of the post, the belief never having been entertained that the Pelly and the Yukon were one and the same river, and that a water communication existed from the Mackenzie up the Liard, down the Pelly and Yukon, and up the Porcupine to Mackenzie waters again.

After the establishment of Fort Yukon in 1847, and Campbell's demonstration of the fact that the Porcupine furnished an easier road to the Yukon country than that by way of the Liard, the Porcupine became the regular trade route from the Mackenzie to the Yukon posts. Nothing in the way of geographical knowledge was, however, added to the meagre records of Bell's exploration, until 1888, when R. G. McConnell, of the Geological Survey, went over the same ground covered by Bell and later by Murray. A detailed account of this journey is given in his "Report on an Exploration in the Yukon and Mackenzie Basins," Geol. Survey, N.S., Vol. IV.

It is clear from this Journal, as well as from the statements of Roderick MacFarlane, who knew him intimately, that Murray was a man of education and taste, as well as a shrewd and successful fur-trader. Not the least of his achievements was the production of the series of spirited sketches accompanying this Journal, drawn in the midst of engrossing duties, under very difficult circumstances, and with no more effective appliances than 'a few steel pens now going on their third year and filed down to stumps.' Some of these sketches will at once be familiar to readers of Sir John Richardson's "Arctic Searching Expedition," where they are reproduced in colour.

Richardson carried on a correspondence with Murray, several of whose letters are quoted in his book. He also makes



constant use of the Journal, which was placed at his disposal at Fort Simpson, by Chief Factor McPherson. According to Richardson, Murray intended exploring a portion of the Yukon below the fort, in 1850. 'It was probably,' says Richardson, 'the report of his party having been seen which induced Captain Collinson to land Lieutenant Barnard and Mr. Adams at Fort Michaelowsky, that they might ascertain who the white men were.' This exploration may have been carried out before Murray left with Campbell for Lapierre House, in that year, but no direct evidence is available, and the fact itself appears questionable.

The following letters from Murray to Richardson may properly be inserted here, as supplementing the present Journal:—

In May, 1850, he writes from Fort Yukon: 'My account of the course of this river, also a sort of chart I made of it from the description given by the Indians, might perhaps lead you to have a wrong impression respecting the mouth of the river. I am now convinced that it is not the same with the Colville, and I have for some years suspected that its mouth lay to the west. The Russians have come up the lower part of the river regularly for some seasons. I was at first informed that they entered it from another river, but I am now told positively by Indians who went down and met them last summer that they come into it direct from the sea. By one of these Indians I received a letter from the Russians, which, being in their own language, is unintelligible to me. Salmon and hook-nosed trout (*Salmo scouleri*) ascend the river, but are not found in the Mackenzie, or rivers falling into the Arctic sea. Again, I have made frequent inquiries of the 'Gens du large,' or the northern Indians, who visit the Arctic sea coast, and find that they are unacquainted with the mouth of the river. For two winter days' walking below the Porcupine, the Yukon trends to the west and southwest, and the natives say that it flows on in the same direction. I am therefore inclined to believe that the Colville is a smaller river, and that the Yukon empties its waters into Norton Sound.'

In another letter, Murray gives the following interesting particulars as to the arrivals of water fowl in the valley of the Yukon: 'Of the two kinds of swan, only the largest sort

(*Cygnus buccinator*) are seen here; they pass on to the northward of the Porcupine river, to breed among the lakes. Bustards (i.e. Canada geese) are plentiful, and breed everywhere, from Council Bluffs on the Missouri to the vicinity of the Polar sea. On the ramparts of Porcupine river they frequently build high up among the rocks, where one would suppose only hawks and ravens would have their nests. How they take their young down is unknown to me, but they must be carried somehow. Ravens and large gulls are very destructive to young geese. With respect to the breeding quarters of the laughing geese (*Anser albifrons*), I am able to inform you correctly, having myself seen a few of their nests; and, since the receipt of your letter, made further inquiry among the northern Indians. Their nests are built on the edges of swamps and lakes, throughout most of the country north of the Porcupine, where the ground is marshy. It is only near the most northerly bends of that river that they are seen in the breeding season, and these are male birds. They pass to their breeding places in the beginning of June, and make their nests among long grass or small bushes, where they are not easily seen. They are shy birds when hatching; and, when any one comes near the nest, manage to escape unperceived, and then show themselves at a distance, and manœuvre like grouse to lead the intruder away from the place. Notwithstanding our ruthless habit of collecting eggs of all kinds to vary our diet, I have often felt for a laughing goose, whose anxiety for the safety of its eggs was frequently the means of revealing to us the situation of its nest. When the bird was swimming some hundreds of yards off, immediately that any person in walking round the lake came near its treasure, the poor bird began to make short, impatient turns in the water, resuming her calm demeanour if the intruder passed the nest without seeing it. As soon as the eggs are taken, the goose rises out of the water and flies close to the head of the captor, uttering a frightened and pitiful cry. These geese are more numerous in the valley of the Yukon than any other kind, and the numbers that pass northwards there are perhaps equal to that of all the other species together. The Gens du large (*Neyetse-kutchin*) who visit the north coast regularly to traffic with the Eskimos, say that they have never seen any flying northwards over the sea in that quarter. White geese (snow

geese, *Chen myperboreus*) are also passengers here, and there are likewise black geese, which I presume you have never seen. A few of them pass down Peel's river, but they are more abundant on the Yukon. They are very handsome birds, considerably smaller than the white geese, and have a dark brown or brownish black colour, with a white ring round the neck, the head and bill having the shape of that of the bustard. ('This description,' says Richardson, 'applies pretty well to the brent goose, *Anser bernicla*.') The black geese are the least numerous and the latest that arrive here. They fly in large flocks with remarkable velocity, and generally pass on without remaining, as the others do, some days to feed. When they alight, it is always in the water; and if they wish to land, they swim ashore. They are very fat, and their flesh has an oily and rather disagreeable taste. Bustards, laughing geese, ducks, and large gulls make their appearance here from the 27th to the 29th of April. Snow geese and black geese about the 15th or 16th of May, when the other kinds become plentiful. They have mostly passed by the end of the month, though some, especially the bustards, are seen in June. The white geese and black geese breed only on the shores of the Arctic Sea. They return in September and early in October, flying high, and seldom halting.'

Richardson also obtained from Murray the following vocabulary:—

# VOCABULARY OF THE KUTCHIN OF THE YUKON OR KUTCHI-KUTCHI.

DRAWN UP BY MR. MURRAY.

<i>Animals.</i>	
ENGLISH.	KUTCHIN.
A bear.....	so.
grizzly bear.....	si-i.
beaver.....	se.
red fox.....	na-kath.
black fox.....	nakath-barhata-niliz-ze.
cross fox.....	nakath-so.
white fox (arctic). ....	etchi-a-thwi.
Canada lynx.....	ni-itchi.
marten.....	tsu-ko.
mink.....	tchith-ei.
otter.....	tsu-e.
musquash.....	tzenn.
wolf.....	zo.
hare (American).....	ke.
wolverine.....	lekh-ethu-e.
seal.....	nat-tchuk.
moose deer.....	tin-djuke.
reindeer .. ..	bet-zey.
goose .. ..	kre.
swan. ....	ta-arr-zyne.
crane.....	che-a.
duck.....	tet-sun.
grouse.....	akh-tail.
fish, a salmon .....	tleukh-ko.
white-fish (Coregonus).. ....	tleukh-ko-tak-hei.
pike.....	alle-ti-in.
blue-fish (grayling).....	rsi-tcha.
methy (Lota).....	che-tlukh.

## *Trading Goods.*

An awl.....	tha.
An axe.....	ta-e.
Beads .....	nak-kai-e.
A belt.....	tho.
A blanket.....	tselta.
A tobacco-box .....	tseltrow-ti-ak.
Buttons .....	yei-kai-thit-le.
A cap.....	tsa-kol-u.
A bonnet .....	tsa-til-ek-ha.
A capot or coat .....	ik.
A duffle coat.....	chai-ik.
A chisel .....	so-itt-se.
A comb .....	tcheir-zug.
A dagger.....	nil-ei-sho.
A file .....	kuk-i.
Tape gartering .....	lekath-at-hai-e.
A looking-glass .....	mutchai-e-i-a.
A gun.....	te-egga.
A gun-flint.....	bech-tsi.
A gun-worm .....	koggo-te.
Gunpowder.....	teggak-kon.



VOCABULARY -- *Continued.*

## ENGLISH.

## KUTCHIN.

*Trading Goods.*

A powder-horn.....	a-ki-itche.
A kettle.....	thi-a.
A knife.....	r'si.
A ring.....	ilat-thekk.
A shirt.....	azu-e-i-ek.
A small shot.....	tegga-atsil.
A ball.....	tegga-atcho.
A fire-steel.....	il-i-a.
Cloth.....	athit-li.
Thread.....	athit-li-itchi.
Tobacco.....	se'ei-i-ti-it.
Trowsers.....	illei-ik.
Vermilion.....	tingi-ta-tseikh.

*Miscellaneous.*

A tree.....	tetch-hau.
A willow.....	kai-i.
Grass.....	tlo.
The ground.....	nunn.
Water.....	tchu.
A river.....	han.
A lake.....	van.
Rain.....	akh-tsin.
Warm.....	konni-etha.
Cold.....	konni-eka.
Hungry.....	sei-ze-kwetsik.
Fatigued.....	kei-a-sethelth-krei.
Sick.....	eth-ill-seyk.
A mountain.....	tha.
A valley.....	kra-tanne.
The sun.....	r'sey-e.
The stars.....	thun.
A rock.....	tchi.
A house or fort.....	izze.
A lodge or tent.....	ni-ti-a.
A bow.....	alt-heikh.
An arrow.....	ki-e.
A canoe.....	tri.
Good.....	neir-zi.
Bad.....	bets-he-te.
Day.....	tzin.
Night.....	tatha.
Sleep.....	nokh-tchi.
Rest.....	tuggath-illa-e.
To sit.....	tchith-u-etcha.
To walk.....	ka-whot-el.
To run.....	sha-tocha.
To shoot.....	at-el-ke.
To kill.....	beshei-en-i-echa.
A man.....	tenghi.
A woman.....	tren-djo.
A boy.....	tse-a.
A girl.....	mitchet-ei.
A dog.....	tleine.
A sled.....	latchan-vultl.

VOCABULARY—*Concluded.*


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ENGLISH.	KUTCHIN.
1.....	tih-lagga.
2.....	nak-hei.
3.....	thi-eka.
4.....	Tan-na.
5.....	illa-kon-elei.
6.....	neckhki-et-hei.
7.....	ataitsa-newk-he.
8.....	nak-hei-etan-na.
9.....	nuntcha-niko.
10.....	tikh-lagga-chow-et-hi-en.
11.....	tikh-lagga-mik-ki-tagga.
12.....	nak-hei-mikki-tagga.
13.....	thi-eka-mikki-tagga.
14.....	tanna-mikki-tagga.
15.....	ilakon-elei-mikki-tagga.
20.....	nak-how-chow-ethi-en.
21.....	nak-how-chow-ethi-in-unsla-tikh-lagga.
30.....	thi-eka-chow-ethi-en.
40.....	tanna-ha-chow-ethi-en.
50.....	atla-konelei-chow-ethi-en.
60.....	nikh-ki-at-hei-chow-ethi-en.
70.....	atait-sa.
80.....	nich-ki-etanna-chow-ethi-en.
90.....	muntcha-niko-chow-ethi-en.
100.....	tikh-lagga-chow-ethi-en-chow-ethi-en.
200.....	nak-kaggo-chow-ethi-en-chow-ethi-en.
300.....	thi-eka-chow-ethi-en-chow-ethi-en.

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# JOURNAL.

YUCON<sup>1</sup>, May 1848.

(Private)

DEAR SIR,—When I left Fort Simpson, you requested me to send you, at this time, a ‘full and particular account of M. Yonom,’<sup>2</sup> and as everything connected with this remote corner of the globe will be interesting, I mean for *once* to send you *perhaps* a *longer* letter than you ever received even from the West Branch; but I must not attempt to compete with my more gifted contemporaries of that ‘verdant’ and ‘flowery’ land in portraying with ‘language poetical’ the beauties of the country, the ‘panoramic views,’ etc., etc., not that I am devoid of feelings of admiration for the ‘sublime and beautiful,’ but that the Arctic regions have few such attractions. I purpose simply to give you a plain but faithful account of all that I consider will (be) of interest or importance in connection with the object for which I was sent here; but I find that I have delayed this duty too long, the season is approaching when one must prepare for the return voyage, and there is so much to occupy my attention otherwise, that I must needs write more hurriedly than I could wish.

You also requested me to send you some drawings of the country, and as now I am altogether unprovided with either drawing paper or pencils, and cannot comply in full with that request, a few steel pens now going on their *third year*, and filed down to *stumps* are all my store, and must answer for every purpose, and to ‘do up’ a landscape with them is beyond my humble powers; therefore, you must be content with the

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1. Youcon is one of several variants of the name, now settled as Yukon, that form having been adopted by both the Canadian and American Boards on Geographic Names. The name was first applied by John Bell, of the Hudson’s Bay Company, in 1846, as he understood it from the Indians. It was long known by its Eskimo name, Kwik-pak (big river). See George M. Dawson’s Report on the Yukon District, Geol. Survey, 1887-8, 14-16 B; Marcus Baker’s Geographic Dictionary of Alaska, under title Yukon.

2. Obviously should read ‘the Youcon.’

few rough sketches that may be interspersed throughout these pages.

I have appropriated a *book* for this *letter*, and as it must be filled up with 'something or other,' I give you my journal of the voyage to the Youcon in full, although it may be to you, what Johnson's Dictionary was to Mr. Peniel, '*gr [and] dry readin,*' still the [courses]<sup>1</sup> and distances may be of consequence—but I will not occupy your time or my own with any further prefatory remarks.

Allow me to introduce you to the starting point—Peels River.<sup>2</sup>

Fort Macpherson.<sup>3</sup> From the batture in front, June, 1847. There is the Fort as it was a year ago, but I may promise looking much better on paper than it does in reality, coarse as the sketch is.

#### VOYAGE FROM PEELS RIVER TO THE YOUCON.

We commenced the journey to 'Lapiers House' on the 11th of June '47. My party consisted of Mr. A. McKenzie,<sup>4</sup> eight men and one woman, accompanied by two of the P. River men and four Indians to assist in carrying part of the things, particularly the potatoes and [barley]<sup>5</sup> you sent for seed, and an

1. This and the preceding emendation are conjectural, supplying illegible words in the MS.

2. Named by Sir John Franklin after Sir Robert Peel. It was first visited by Franklin on returning from his second overland expedition to the Arctic. Explored by Bell in 1839; and in 1840-41 by A. K. Isbister, also an officer of the H. B. Company. A more extensive exploration was carried out by Count V. E. de Sainville in 1893; and in 1905 C. Camsell, of the Geological Survey, made a complete survey of the river. See Isbister's account of his own and Bell's explorations, in the Royal Geographical Journal, Vol. XV; and Camsell's Report on the Peel River and Tributaries, Geological Survey, 1904. Also Geological Survey, 1888-9, 114D.

3. Built by Bell, for the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1840. Named after Chief Factor Murdo, or Murdock, McPherson. It is still maintained by the Company, and is their most northerly establishment. Stands on the east bank of Peel river. See Camsell's Report, 36CC. The description that follows, in the text, refers to this illustration.

4. Alexander McKenzie. Several of this name were at one time or another in the fur trade, without counting the great explorer who gave his name to the Mackenzie river. This particular Alexander was a clerk in the Hudson's Bay Company's service. He is probably the same Alexander Mackenzie mentioned in Mair and Macfarlane's 'Mackenzie Basin,' as having been stationed at Fort Resolution 1860-62.

5. Probably should read 'barley,' which it elsewhere appears Murray brought with him.

extra bag of Pemican,<sup>1</sup> across the mountains: the Loucheux<sup>2</sup> Indian 'Vandeh' previously engaged as Fort Hunter, and Interpreter to the 'Gens du fou,'<sup>3</sup> left at the same time with his two wives and two children; he received some dried meat to take them to Lapiers House, after which he was to provide for himself and family.

The mens loads being weighed and all in readiness, we left at the appointed hour 7 a.m., and were ferried across in the boat to the west side of the river about a mile below the Fort. The customary adieus and 'God bless yous' having been duly exchanged between us and our remaining friends, we shouldered our packs, and, preceded by an Indian guide, struck into the labyrinth of swamps and lakes that lay between us and the distant hills; the whole of this flat, low, about four miles broad and extending to the McKenzie, was overflowed by the river in May, and now in an almost impassable state. We waded most of the way knee deep, but often to the middle in sludge and water, the day was clear and warm, and the mosquitos had already begun their ravages, which rendered the commencement of the voyage anything but pleasant. In three hours we cleared the 'slough of dispond,' and another hour brought us to the top of hills nearest to Peels River, where we rested for awhile and partook of some pemican and moss water. The party being now assembled and fairly 'en route' in the open country, I cautioned them to be careful of the company's property, that each was responsible for what he carried, advised them not to separate on the way, and left instructions with Mr. McKenzie to look after things in general. I then started ahead with Manuel, the best walker amongst the men, and an Indian not so heavily loaded as the others, intending to reach L. P. House in three days, so as to have my letters answered and things in

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1. For an account of the method of making pemmican, and the materials employed, see Paul Kane's 'Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America,' p. 78.

2. First mentioned by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in his journey down the Mackenzie in 1789. Sir John Richardson describes them briefly, but credits most of the information he gives to Bell and Murray. See his 'Arctic Searching Expedition,' ch. xii. Also Isbister, in Rep. of Brit. Ass., 1847, p. 122. The Loucheux are of Athapaskan stock.

3. 'The Tathzey-kutchi, "people of the ramparts," known to the traders and Canadian voyagers by the name of "Gens du Fou" . . . inhabit a wide country, which extends from the sources of the Porcupine and Peel to those of the River of the Mountain Men.' Richardson, I, 398.



order, that the voyage might not be delayed on that account. The men each carried 40 lbs. exclusive of their provisions, loaded quite enough for the trip at this season of the year. We kept on at a strong pace for a few hours, until the Indian became *fagged*, and expressed his inability to proceed with the load he carried, having only my own things, not so much as the others, I relieved him of his blanket, after which we got on better. Although now on high land and gradually ascending sloping hills, the ground was completely saturated with water, very little vegetation appeared, tufts of heath and moss thinly interspersed on a bottom of soft mud, but only thrived about 6 inches from the surface, passed a range of small lakes extending toward the north, they were only open around the sides, the ice in the centre appearing quite solid. Several large flocks of geese were seen here, but we were too hurried to go after them. On the banks of a rapid mountain stream, we found a few dwarf pines, made a fire and intended camping for the night, but after eating, and smoking of course, we felt refreshed and pursued our journey. It was past 10 o'clock before we reached a place with sufficient *brush* to make a fire, and had some difficulty in finding a spot dry enough whereon to sit. Each picked out his own moss knole, and rolled up in his blanket composed himself to sleep. We came only about 25 miles to-day in a westerly course, and to the north of the winter route.<sup>1</sup>

12th. Although stiff in the joints and otherwise fatigued I could sleep little, from my moss bed having sunk into the water, and from a severe attack of heartburn occasioned by eating the raw pemican which generally disagrees with my stomach. I was therefore up early, and shot a brace of<sup>2</sup>. . . . . for my own breakfast before the others awoke, we were 'on foot' about

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1. R. G. McConnell followed substantially the same route, from Fort McPherson to Lapierre House, in 1888. 'The walking' he says 'is exceedingly difficult, as the surface is covered with the rounded grassy sods which go in the country by the name of *Tetes des femmes*.' These troublesome mounds are found in a wide plain which stretches to the foot of the mountains. McConnell says the portage from Fort McPherson to Lapierre House is about sixty miles long; that four to five days are occupied in the trip; that the ordinary load for an Indian on this portage is forty pounds, exclusive of blanket and supplies for the trip; and that the tariff for this load is fifteen skins, or seven dollars and a half, paid in goods. Geol. Survey, 1888-9, 116-17.

2. MS illegible. Probably should read 'partridge' or 'ptarmigan,' which are found all through this country.

the same time as yesterday, and meeting with few impediments, made a good distance before breakfast, saw several fine deer, and came close upon one on rounding a small hill, but our guns being charged with small shot the chance was lost. The ground became much firmer as we approached the Rocky Mountains, now before us, and although the ascent was greater, the walking was not nearly so fatiguing as yesterday, the hills are covered with tolerable pasture and partridge and cranberries very plentiful. Towards noon we reached the base of the ridge of mountains, spread out our blankets to dry and took a short *nap* in the heat of the day, preferring to walk during night, when, although the sun is always shining at this season, it is cool. Again refreshed, we began to ascend the mountains, by a 'zig-sag' route amongst the rocks and snow banks, and in three hours arrived at the summit. Although calm and oppressively hot below, we had here a cooling breeze, the view of the surrounding country was very extensive, but not particularly striking, nothing but a continuation of barren mountains before us and on each hand,<sup>1</sup> behind me lay the undulating country we had passed, the highest mountain to be seen here is about 6 miles to the south the bearings of which I took\* from Peels River as a landmark in winter; the descent on the west side was accomplished in less time, slipping, scrambling and tumbling over rocks and loose stones, and often assisted by a slide down a snow bank, the bottom was reached in safety, with the exception of a few slight bruises. We now joined that part of the winter route known as the 'Barren tranise,'<sup>2</sup> here every place that could contain water was flooded, every snow bank sent forth a stream, what appeared in winter to be diminutive brooks, were now foaming rivers, several of these intersected our path and caused some detention. The last proved the most formidable, where broad, the current was too strong, where narrow too deep, we followed up stream some distance before reaching a place that appeared *fordable*, and we determined to go no further. Manuel was the first to make the attempt, and slowly committed himself to the water, while the Indian and I held on to the collar of his capot, he was just on the point of

1. 'The enclosing mountains,' says McConnell, 'are regular in outline and somewhat tame in appearance, and rise to elevations above the valley from one thousand to two thousand five hundred feet.'

2. So this copy reads; obviously should be 'barren traverse.'

being hauled up as a *hopeless case*, when the bottom was reached, breast deep, and he was able to stand against the current. We followed in succession and got a thorough soaking in snow water, a smart walk soon brought heat into our shivering bodies, but I was greatly mystified<sup>1</sup> at the loss of a lot of Percussion caps in my waistcoat pocket, rendered useless by the water, for gun caps are scarce in this country. Several small bands of Rein deer<sup>2</sup> were seen on this [river], which appears to be a favorite resort of theirs, during winter they are always to be found here. Plovers and White Partridges (a wrong name for the latter at this season, with their summer plumage they have more the appearance of geese)<sup>3</sup> were plentiful, and two brace were shot, some of their nests were also found, and the eggs of course we devoured raw. On arriving at the *chute*, a pass in the rocks, where the sleds and dogs have to be lowered over with lines in winter, we found it now a roaring cataract, and the rocks on each side impassable. We had therefore to ascend the hills and keep to the right for two miles further, when the bottom was reached with all speed, a few tumbles over rocks as before, and an 'almighty' slide down an almost perpendicular snow bank, landed us far into the willows at the bottom. We followed down the banks of the stream<sup>4</sup> until completely tired, and camped at 2 o'clock in the morning, where there was plenty of dry wood, undressed and dried our clothes, and supped in comfort on partridge and pemican. The distance walked to-day *might* be 28 or 30 miles.

12th.<sup>5</sup> Started at 10 o'clock and soon arrived at *Bells River*,<sup>5</sup> well known for its rapid current at this season. I had frequently

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1. Apparently this is an error in copy for 'mortified.'

2. 'Caribou,' says Camsell (Geol. Survey, 1904, 47CC), 'are plentiful everywhere in the vicinity of the mountain ranges (in the Peel River country), some being found on the plateau.'

3. i.e., grouse.

4. The same branch of Bell river described by McConnell in his report, 118D. Murray was unable to cross one of the mountain streams entering this branch from the north; he, therefore, turned up its east bank and crossed two miles higher up.

5. Should read '13th.'

6. Named after John Bell, who first explored its main waters in 1839. See McConnell's description of the river, Geol. Survey, 1888-9, 121D. Bell river rises in the height of land, not far from the source of Rat river, and joins the Porcupine about 137° 30'. The confusion in nomenclature arises from the fact that the name 'Bell' was applied in Murray's day to the branch of present Bell river, while present Bell river was







Crossing Bell River.

heard of the difficulties in crossing in the spring, but was not prepared to find it so very high as it now was: we each cut a strong pole to assist in stemming the current, and several vain attempts were made at different places: following up along the banks, fresh foot prints on the sand led us to a broader place, where a pole, yet wet, was discovered: an Indian, as we afterwards ascertained had crossed in the night on his way to the Fort. But the river had risen much since, for no human being could withstand the force of the current now. A raft was proposed, but again disapproved of as being most dangerous from the quantity of ice running, and so many rocks in the river. There appeared no alternative but to follow up the river though we should go to its source, which strange as it may seem, was the same deep stream we crossed yesterday, but takes a circuitous course of perhaps 20 miles amongst the mountains to the north. The hills were again mounted, and continuing along the ridge for some time we had a good view of the river above, about two miles further up it separated into two channels, and appeared from the height to be blocked with ice. Our steps were bent thither, and fortunately we got safely on the main channel on a bridge of ice; the other channel being *free*, and appearing short, Manuel who had the *lead*, entered it without hesitation, and got about two-thirds across when it became too deep and rapid, on attempting to turn, his pole gave way and he was carried down stream, most fortunately the current set in to the opposite bank, and after rolling him once or twice over he scrambled ashore, with the loss of his gun and bonnet. Had he been carried a few feet farther down, the ice banks were high and the current stronger, and he must have perished. I did not till now remember that the 'lumber line' for the new boat was in the Indian's parcel, with it I was safe, having secured my gun and pistols to my shoulders, I fastened the one end of the line around my body, and attached a small stone to the other, which, before entering the strongest of the current, was flung across to Manuel, so that I might be brought up like a log on the other side, but I managed with the assistance of a strong pole to get over without being carried down. The

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then known as Rat river. There were in fact two Rat rivers, rising in the same neighbourhood, one flowing into the Porcupine, the other into the Mackenzie. Richardson calls the former Western Rat river. See McConnell, 115D, on this double use of the name.

Indian not admiring this method, refused to make a trial, he went further up, and crossed with less difficulty at a much broader place.<sup>1</sup>

Ourselves safe, my thoughts reverted to those behind, but as they were accompanied by some Rat Indians<sup>2</sup> who knew the river well, our remaining here would be of little advantage. Being now some 7 or 8 miles above the usual route, we intended making a 'bee line' for the houses, and 'Tarshee' the Indian undertook to be our guide. The whole afternoon was spent in wandering amongst the mountains; not finding an outlet, we climbed to the top of one, but there was no possibility of proceeding further in that direction, nothing to be seen but towering mountains and fearful precipices, and deep ravines covered with eternal snow. There were no 'verdant hills' here, not a vestage of animation appeared in this desolate region. It was now late, but we looked in vain for a place to camp, all of us being fatigued, our clothes saturated with perspiration and Manuel completely drenched with water, we preferred sleeping by a good fire to shivering up here amongst the rocks, it was therefore decided to 'make tracks' down the first valley, we followed its course and arrived again on the banks of Bells River only a short distance below where we crossed; the ground was wet, but there were plenty of trees and a good encampment was made as in winter. None of us were in good humor, Manuel for the loss of his gun and bonnet, 'Tarshee' for losing his way in the mountains, and myself for the loss of a day, for I expected to have slept at Lapiers House, and here we were farther by a few miles than last night's encampment; but there was one consolation, the river was crossed and no obstruction now lay before us by following the usual track.

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1. McConnell's description of the ford and how it is crossed bears out all that Murray here says. 'The ford,' he says, 'is a difficult one, as the stream is here deep and rapid, and its channel is paved with treacherous quartzite boulders. The greatest caution is necessary in crossing, as a stumble or false step would almost certainly be fatal to one encumbered with a heavy pack. In fording these swift mountain torrents, it is customary to adopt a communistic plan. The party line up behind a long pole, and keeping a firm hold of it, advance into the stream abreast. In this case the person above sustains the full brunt of the current, but is held up by those below, and a stumbler receives the support of those who have kept their footing.' Geol. Survey, 1888-9, 119D.

2. Rat Indians, i.e., Rat River Indians. Elsewhere Murray refers to these Indians, of whom 'Grand Blanc' was chief, as the Youcon Indians.

14th. Certain of reaching the houses to-day, we did not again attempt the mountain, but kept along the west bank of the river to the *fork*, where it takes a south west course which also was ours. The low ground was very wet, and we preferred walking along the sides of the mountains, (here less rocky and more sloping than those before passed) until we joined the beaten Indian track, which led us to the west over a long stretch of hilly and marchy ground, and laterly through several miles of willows, small birch and poplar trees. On emerging from this thicket we stood on the brow of a steep hill overlooking the valley of Rat River, the view here, although of a different description, was almost equal to that on the west side of Portage La Loche.<sup>1</sup>

Had the bleak and 'snow capped' mountains which bounded the valley on each side, been covered with *heather*, the marchy ground below us, through which the river wandered, covered with green fields, and the stunted pines to 'spreading oaks,' it would have been greatly enhanced in my estimation. The blue smoke curling upwards from the clump of dark pines far away in the hollow, had a fine effect on the scene, but a still finer effect on my spirits, for by it I knew that our people were alive and the houses safe. Although there was no *great* danger, still I had not heard from them for some time, and knowing the aversion of the Rat Indians under 'Grand Blanc' to our going to the Youcon, and the reported threats of the 'Gens du fou' to burn the houses, I could not be without anxiety. Another hour's smart walking brought us opposite the houses, where our anxious friends, who had long before discerned our approach were waiting, and took us over the river in the boat. We arrived at Lapiers House<sup>2</sup> at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 p.m., where I was wel-

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1. Portage la Loche, or Methye Portage, leading from Churchill waters into the Clearwater, and so to the Athabaska, Mackenzie and Peace river systems. This portage was not only a vital link in the vast network of water communications—the highways of the western fur-trade, but was and is one of the most beautiful spots in America. It has been described with enthusiasm by scores of travellers, from Alexander Mackenzie down. See Back's account, in his 'Arctic Land Expedition,' p. 71, and his delightful sketch, forming one of the illustrations in Franklin's 'Polar Sea.'

2. Lapiere House, built originally as an outpost of Fort McPherson, and, after the establishment of Fort Yukon, used in connection with the shipment of supplies and furs to and from the Yukon. McConnell



came by Mrs. Murray, who, with the woman and three men stationed there, I found well. They had passed the spring as comfortably as could be expected, been well supplied with meat by the 'Mourmour' and 'Thief' the two Indians appointed to hunt deer for the place. Once more alongside of my young wife, before a table well replenished with venison steaks, and the usual accompaniments, the fatigues of the journey were soon forgotten.

15th. On looking around this morning I found the work, for which orders were left in spring, all completed: the boat (named the 'Pioneer') built and ready launched, oars etc made, Mr. Bells' old.....<sup>2</sup> repaired for the Indian and his family, the stern covered with bark, doors made, and everything in good order under the management of Inkstir the boat builder. Part of the forenoon was spent in talking with five Indians, all the way from the Youcon, whom I found here awaiting our arrival, they had been up towards the source of *Porcupine river*<sup>3</sup> trading furs from the 'Gens du fou,' from whom they heard of our going to the Youcon this summer, the several messages sent by the Rat Indians had not been delivered, and none of those in the Youcon expected us, and had of course collected no provisions. From these Indians I heard of the Russians being at the Youcon the previous summer, the particulars of which I

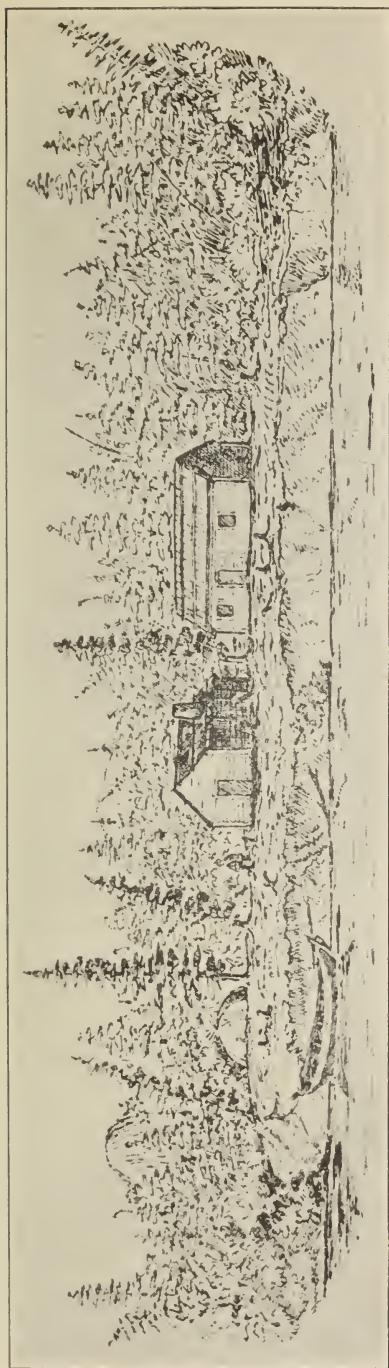
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describes the post as it was in 1888 (Geol. Survey, 1888-9, 121D), and says it had then been in existence about thirty-five years. It has since been abandoned by the H. B. Co. Lapierre House stood in Murray's day on the branch of present Bell river which then bore that name. It was afterward moved to the main stream, where its location is shown on McConnell's map.

1. John Bell, chief trader in the Hudson's Bay Company. His explorations have already been referred to. Sir John Richardson obtained from him much of the information as to lower Mackenzie River country and its natives, embodied in his 'Arctic Searching Expedition.' Writing in 1847, Richardson says that Bell had then 'resided many years on the Mackenzie.' Bell married a daughter of Peter Warren Dease, the Arctic explorer. He was stationed at Fort Good Hope in 1837.

2. Probably 'canoe.'

3. 'The Porcupine heads within thirty miles of the Pelly-Yukon, approximately in latitude 65° 30' N., and after describing a great semi-circular curve to the northeast, falls into the same river a hundred and fifty miles farther down. At its most easterly point it approaches within eighty miles of the Mackenzie, but is separated from it by the main range of the Rocky mountains. Its total length approximates to five hundred miles.' McConnell, Geol. Survey, 1888-9, 122D.



Lapierre House.



then informed you. Here were Indians at L. P. House, supplied with Russian goods principally *Beads*, and taking the furs from almost before our doors, intending to dispose of them to the Russians in the Youcon this summer, surely the H. B. Co. can supply *Beads* and the articles that Indians require as well as the R. A. T. Co.,<sup>1</sup> but I will have something to say on this subject hereafter. These Indians had, besides a few Beaver 81 *skins* in Martens for which they demanded Beads and Guns, I could not open out my goods here, but persuaded them to dispose of their peltries to the Indians here, which they did next day for guns and ammunition, and the furs went to Peels River.<sup>2</sup> This being a clear day I had a good opportunity of ascertaining the variation of the compass, by a meridian line, my only method, and found it to vary *scarcely* 47 degrees east, at Peels River it is 48 degrees. I brought the boat compass here on my first trip in April, had it placed in the end of my sled—for I drive a loaded train—and took the bearings of the numerous turnings and windings of the winter route, calculating the distance by our rate of walking and the time occupied in each course.

## COURSES AND DISTANCES OF WINTER TRIP FROM PEELS RIVER.

April 2, by the windings of the route	4	miles,	2½	miles	west
" 2, " " "	5½	"	5	"	S.W.
" 2, " " "	8	"	6	"	W.
" 3, " " "	11	"	8	"	W.
" 3, " " "	8	"	5	"	W.S.W.
" 4, " " "	12	"	9	"	W.
" 4, " " "	1	"	1	"	N.W.
" 4, " " "	5	"	4	"	W. & S.
" 4, " " "	7	"	6	"	S.W.
" 5, " " "	7	"	0	"	S.W.
" 5, " " "	2	"	2	"	W.
" 5, " " "	6	"	5	"	N.W.

I make Lapiers House to be distant from P.R., 78 miles<sup>2</sup> by the winter route, by the summer ditto *perhaps* 68 miles, not including the *lost day*, and allowing we had come the direct track. Two of the Indians accompanying our party arrived in the evening and informed us of all being safe on this side of Bells

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1. Russian-American Trading Company.

2. As already noted, McConnell makes the distance sixty miles 'distant from P.R.,' that is, Peels river, or Fort McPherson.



River; they arrived there last night when the river was still too high, but it fell greatly during the night, and they crossed in the morning with little difficulty.

16th. During the day the *Youcon Pioneers* came dropping in by 'ones and twos,' and in the evening the 'rear guard,' namely John Hope and his wife, made their appearance; I was glad to see them all here in safety, but they were much fatigued and the woman completely 'knocked up' (*I believe before she left Fort Simpson*). All the things were safely received except a valuable parcel of nails, containing those for gate hinges, etc., lost by Bouche who had transferred part of his load to some of the dogs, while he went after a band of Rein Deer, I was much annoyed at this as he was told so particularly to be careful of them. Here is a sketch of the houses, but they are so closely immured in a thicket of pines, that no view can be taken to include the surrounding mountain scenery.

17th. The new private orders were made out and my writing finished, squared accounts with the Indians hunters, and arranged with a steady old 'Loucheu,' father-in-law to before mentioned 'Mourdour,' to remain in charge of the houses until fall, for which he was to be allowed a small gratuity; he was also to collect as many dry fish as possible for the winter voyaging, to be paid for at the usual rate. Gave out provisions for four days to the men, women and Indians returning to Peels River which rendered my stock of dry meat about 300 lbs. The men having had a days rest, were warned to be prepared to embark immediately after breakfast on the morrow.

18th. This being *Friday*, several hints were thrown out by the men (they no doubt expecting to be allowed another day's repose) to defer starting until Saturday, but it could not be allowed. The boat was loaded and breakfast over before embarking; we 'shoved off' at 10 o'clock with three cheers for the Youcon, responded to by the Peels River party on shore, who left on their return at the same time. A few short windings brought us to Rat River, (it is on the banks of Bells River the houses are built) distant North and West  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile, it flows from the North, is narrow and deep with very little current. I now commence the courses and distances, with which I was as particular as possible. A 'Binniele' made of a solid

block of wood was prepared for the compass, and fixed in the centre of the 'stern sheets' free from any attraction of the iron works of the boat etc., and the bearings of *every* turn of the river were noted, and the distance calculated by time, the rate of pulling and the strength of the current, W. 1-3 (*West 1-3 of a mile*) S.W. 1-5, W. & by S. 1-6, S. by E. 1-8, S.S.W. 1-3, S.W. 1-6, S.E. 1-6, E. by N.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. 1-3, W. by S.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , N.W. & by W. 1-3, N.W. 1-8, S.W. 1-3, S.E. & by S.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. & by N. 1-8, W.N.W. 1-8, N.W. & by W. 1-3, W.N.W. 1-3 (Round hills on north bank) S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S. 1-6, S.E. by S.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S. & by E.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , N.E. 1-8 (Double a sharp point) S.W. 1-6, S.W. & by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , S.W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , S.W. 1-6, (Small hills) S. & by W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S.E. & by S. 1-3, S.W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , (S. point blanket mountain seen in front), S.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , (Rocky hills on left), S.E. 1-6, S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S. & by W. 1-6, (double sharp point) N.N.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , N.W. 1-8, S. & by W. 1-3, S. 2-3, S. & by W. 2-3, S.W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S.S.W. 1-3, S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ . A thunderstorm accompanied by heavy rain compelled us to put ashore at  $\frac{1}{4}$  to 3 o'clock. The rain continuing, we embarked here for the night. The river continues narrow, deep, and sluggish, and of a most tortuous course, confined between small hills, often rocky and partly covered with small bush and pines. The banks are steep and muddy and thickly covered with willows. It is appropriately called by the Indians 'Rat River,' having the appearance of a place suitable to the habits of the musk rat. There are high mountains on each side, more particularly the north, but few could be seen from the river, the view being interrupted by intervening hills. Plenty of geese were seen, but, fond as I am of shooting, I was forced to lay my gun aside, my attention being solely occupied with my *log*, owing to the confounded short turns of the river, however a few were knocked down by W. McKenzie and some of the men. Those of the men unprovided with guns of their own, were each lent one for the trip and [given?] a little ammunition in case of meeting with hostile Indians etc. All were pleased with the qualities of the new boat, she had a fair trial on the oars and went well, and though heavily laden drew only two feet water. About 9 o'clock the weather cleared up and became much colder.

19th. A clear morning and blowing strong from the west: Started at 5 o'clock and proceeded W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , (Steep hills

on right) N.W. & by W. 1-3, W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , N.W. 1-6, S.W. & by W. 1-6, S.W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W. 2-3, S.W. & by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , W.S.W. 1-8, ('Blue Fish River'<sup>1</sup> enters from the south east) W.N.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , (Another sluggish river enters from the south<sup>2</sup>) N.E. & by E.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , double point 1-5, W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , (Rocky banks on left) W. 1-3, N.W. 1-3, (left bank high and sloping, river widens, put ashore for breakfast) N.W. 1-3, N.W. & by W. 1-6, N.N.W. 1-3, N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. & by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , N.W. 1-8, (small round island) N. & by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , N.N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , (a small river enters in right) N.W. & by W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , S.W. & by W. 1-3, W. & by N.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W.N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , (High banks) S.W. & by W. 1, W.S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. 1-3, (Range of barren mountains about 8 miles ahead) W. S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W. 3-4, W. & by N. 1-3, W. & by S.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S. & by W. 1, S.W. & by W. 1-3, S.W. & by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , S.W. & by W. 1-6, S.W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , S.W. & by W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , S.W. & by S. 1-3, S.W. 1-3, S.W. & by W. 1, W.S.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , S.W. & by W. 1, W. & by S. 2-3, S.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , W.S.W.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ . Where we entered the large river flowing from the south east. We were hailed by some Indians, (six men with their families) camped amongst the willows on the point, and went ashore; the five Youcon Indians who left Lapiers House the day before we did, were also here and had warned the others of our approach. They were busy preparing a feast for their Youcon visitors, to wit, a lot of musk rats, moose fat, and wild onions<sup>3</sup> stowed in a vessel of birch bark. They had a small quantity of excellent dried meat, which was traded for ammunition and tobacco. I expected to have met the 'Grand Blanc,' their chief, with a large party hereabouts, but he had not yet returned from the mountains which pleased us quite a mite, as we might have had some trouble with him. Those here already knew of the object of our going to the Youcon, and appeared to care very little about it. I gave each a small piece of tobacco, and they promised to take provisions to the houses in fall. They commenced to dance, but we could

1. This small tributary of Bell river (now known as Rock river) must not be confused with the Blue-fish river which joins the Porcupine from the south a few miles above the head of the Ramparts.

2. Eagle river.

3. 'When at Red river,' says W. W. Kirby, 'I read a paper by Mr. [George] Barnston, on the growth of the onion on the banks of the Porcupine river, and I have much pleasure in being able to confirm his statements, that it is not the real onion, but the chive that grows in such abundance there.' Smithsonian Report, 1864, p. 420.

remain no longer, and left them 'going it' on the bank. Rat River terminates here, we now descend 'Porcupine River,'<sup>1</sup> (the Indian name is Chio-en-Chuke) three times the breadth of the former with a strong current and more sloping banks, W. & by N.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , N.W. & by W.  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , N. & by W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , N.W. & by W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , N. & by W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , N.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  (High banks, lofty mountains seen in the distance to the N.E.) N.W. & by W. 1, N.N.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , N. & by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , (Mountains on left) N.E. & by N.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , N.W. & by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , (Rocky hills on each side, known as the 'Small ramparts')<sup>2</sup> N.W. & by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , N.N.E.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , N.N.W.  $3\frac{1}{4}$ , W. 1, W.S.W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ . We camped at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 o'clock, had a strong westerly wind all day with several showers of rain, since entering the river the country is more open, patches of small pine are frequently met with on the banks, now less muddy than before, but the rising ground has a very barren look, blighted pines and very small birch are thinly scattered over it in every direction. We made better *way* this afternoon, being greatly assisted by the strong current. The Youcon Indians overtook and camped with us here.

20th. A cloudy and windy morning; we left early (4 o'clock), W.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W.N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , (a small river on the right)<sup>3</sup> W.N.W. 2, W. & by S.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , N.N.E.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , N. & by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , W.N.W.  $2\frac{1}{4}$ , (A sharp rock in middle of the channel, middle of last course, hills on left, mountains 5 or 6 miles ahead) N.W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , N.W. & by N. 3, N.N.W. 1, N.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , W.N. W.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , W.S.W.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , W. & by S.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , W.  $4\frac{1}{4}$ , (Heavy rain, put ashore for breakfast, we remained here on account of the rain until noon when it cleared up, the wind blowing strong from

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1. The Porcupine first explored by John Bell, in 1842 and 1844. Three years after Murray's journey, Robert Campbell ascended the Porcupine, from Fort Yukon to Lapierre House. Thereafter the river became a regular trade route for the Hudson's Bay Company, until the transfer of Alaska to the United States, when the company were compelled to abandon Fort Yukon and confine their operations to the Canadian side of the boundary. It was not until 1888 that that part of the Porcupine from the mouth of Bell river to the boundary was surveyed, by R. G. McConnell. The same year, Wm. Ogilvie explored the upper Porcupine, from its source to the mouth of Bell river.

2. 'The valley,' says McConnell, 'is generally rather wide and shallow, but at one point about ten miles below Bell river, becomes somewhat contracted, and for some miles has the appearance of a wide cañon.' This is what Murray calls the 'small ramparts.' See Geol. Survey, 1888-9, 123D, for description of this portion of the Porcupine.

3. Probably Driftwood river.



the west created an ugly swell, but by keeping along shore we were enabled to proceed) W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , W.N.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , N.W. & by W.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , (Steep rocky banks on south side) N.N.E.  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , N.N.W. 1, (High precipices on each side) W. & by N.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , W.S.W.  $4\frac{1}{4}$ , (an island) S.S.W. 1, W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W.N.W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , S.W. & by W.  $2\frac{1}{4}$ , (A small river enters on the left, mountains seen to the south) S.S.W.<sup>1</sup> 3, W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , W. & by N.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , (A narrow creek enters on the left<sup>2</sup> the only outlet to a lake, a short distance to the south, in which the Indians say there are plenty of excellent white fish; they call it 'Big White Fish Lake,' it would be a great acquisition to a post within reach) N.W.  $2\frac{1}{8}$ , S.W. & by W.  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , W.S.W. 1, W. & by S.  $2\frac{1}{6}$ , (another small river joins this on the left, high mountains about 10 miles to the south) S.S.W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , (Rocky banks and shoal water) W.  $\frac{2}{3}$ , W.N.W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , W.S.W. 1, (Head of large island; by the direction of the Indians, we followed the left channel) S.W. & by W.  $\frac{1}{3}$ , S. & by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W.N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , Encamped on the island, near to the lower end. Towards evening the weather became very disagreeable, heavy showers of rain and sleet with strong wind. The boat went aground for the first time this afternoon, where the river is broad and very shoal, although the water is never considered high. The Indians say that in 'half a moon' more the boat could not pass. The Peels River Indian with his family in the large canoe, came up to us after supper. The Youcon Indians went ahead to wait for us further on, where they expected to kill some Rein deer. Two deer were seen crossing the river in the evening, chase was given by the Indian but without success. A few more geese were killed to-day.

21st. Some snow fell during night, and in the morning sleet and rain, the weather was so unfavourable that we breakfasted before starting. Left at 9 o'clock and proceeded on the same course as last  $4\frac{1}{4}$ , N.W. & by W. (An island  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles in length followed south channel, the main channel on the north side)  $3\frac{3}{4}$  W.N.W. 1, W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , (The Indians were here waiting for us on the bank with the meat of two Rein deer, killed this morning. Although only two of them had guns, each had his share of the meat, they were paid in ammunition and a small bit of tobacco given gratis to encourage them to hunt more)

1. This course about one and a half miles long by McConnell's survey.

2. Fishing river.

S.W. & by W.  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , W.N.W. 1, N. & by W. 2, W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S.W. & by S.  $\frac{2}{3}$ , (A low island, smooth mountains seen to the north) W.S.W.  $2\frac{1}{4}$ , (Shoal water) S.W. and by S.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , S.S.E.  $1\frac{2}{3}$ , W. & by S.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , S. 1, S.S.E.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , S. & by W.  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , W.S.W.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , (A large island on left, formed by the rain having cut through this point in the spring, we kept the new course, a saving of about 3 miles) N.W. & by W.  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , (High banks on right, an island on left) S.W. & by S.  $3\frac{1}{4}$ , (Kept to the left of another island) W.  $5\frac{1}{4}$ , S.W. 1, S. & by E. 4, S.W. & by S.  $\frac{2}{3}$ , W. 1, N.W. 1. Compelled again to encamp early on account of rain, it cleared up in the evening and became very warm, and the mosquitos more troublesome than usual. The river in some places passed to-day is broad, we were aground twice on hidden battures, but plenty of water was always found when in the proper channel. To the north is a range of high but smooth mountains<sup>2</sup> (seen by us most of the day) where it is said Rein deer resort in numerous numbers during winter, the Indians of course call them the 'Carribeux Mountains,' two apparently very high mountains are seen to the south say 25 or 30 miles distant. We are now, according to my reckoning, *across the Boundary Line*,<sup>3</sup> and I have been on the look-out as we came along, for a site whereon to build; should it so happen, that we are compelled to retreat upon our own territory. There are several points that might answer well only for the scarcity of timber for building purposes, but I daresay enough could be picked up *here and there* if it was actually required.<sup>4</sup>

This is the country of the 'Vanta Kootchin' (men of the lake) a band of about 80 'first-rate' fellows for the whites, some of the Youcon Indians often come in winter to hunt deer on these mountains. To the north west are the 'Ney-et-se-

1. By McConnell's survey this course should be S.S.W. Distance overestimated. The 'low island' referred to lies opposite the mouth of Old Crow river, which Murray seems to have passed without noticing.

2. Now known as the Old Crow mountains, so named after a Loucheux chief of that name, to whose hunting grounds they belong.

3. Murray is a good deal out in his reckoning. He has not yet reached the upper end of the Ramparts, and the International boundary is not far from the lower end. He has, in fact, nearly fifty miles more to go before he reaches Russian territory.

4. As a matter of fact, the Hudson's Bay Company was compelled eventually to retreat across the boundary, though not by the Russians, and a post was built near the lower end of the Ramparts.

Kootchin' (*Gens du large*) numbering about 40 men,<sup>1</sup> it is also within reach of a band of the 'Gens-du-fou,' and being right in the midst of the Carribeux lands, I would suppose no better place could be found for provisions.

22nd. Another cloudy morning and a few light showers of rain. We left at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 and continued N.W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , W. & by N.  $2\frac{1}{3}$ , (High crumbling rocky banks) N.W. & by W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , (Commencement of the great ramparts,<sup>2</sup> the river becomes quite narrow and the current much stronger) W  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , W.S.W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , W. 1, W. & by S.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W. & by S.  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , N.W. & by W.  $1\frac{2}{3}$ , (A large rock peeping up in the centre of the river, called by the Indians the *death rock*. A Loncheux while descending in high water broke his canoe on the rock, remained there and died of starvation, his bones were found on it in the fall. Indians are proverbially good swimmers and it is strange to hear of any meeting their death in this manner, but few of the Loncheux can swim, although most of their time in summer is spent on the water) W.  $4\frac{1}{4}$ , W.S.W.  $2\frac{1}{4}$ , W. 1, (Found an opening in the rocks with plenty of wood and went ashore for breakfast, the Youcon Indians continued on to wait for us at a famed deer pass below) W.S.W.  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W.S.W.  $2\frac{3}{4}$ , S.W. & by S.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , (passed the Indian canoes hauled up on the bank, where there are some steep wooded hills) S.W. & by W. 1, W.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , (very high rock on each side) W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , W.S.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , S.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , S.W. & by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , N.W. & by W.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , S.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , S.W. & by S.  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , S.W. 2, W.N.W. 1, (A small but very rapid river enters from the N.W.) S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S. & by E. (Heavy

1. 'The banks of the Porcupine,' says Richardson, 'and country on the north of it belong to the *Vanta-kutchi*, "people of the lakes," having 80 men; and to another band, named *Neyetsè-kutchi*, "people of the open country," who have 40 men.' The latter are doubtless the Natsikkutchin of Dall, the Natchekutchin of Ross, and the Natsit-kutchin of Petroff. The latter says that the word *natsit* signifies strong, and that this tribe, described as nomadic, not numerous, and occupying the banks of the Porcupine above its junction with the Yukon, were known to the fur-traders as *gens de large*.

2. The Ramparts is 'a local name employed by the traders to designate a contracted walled valley or cañon.' (The term has been applied to similar conditions on the Mackenzie, the Yukon and the Porcupine.) 'The portion of the valley of the Porcupine which passes under this name is exceedingly picturesque. The banks rise steeply from the water's edge on both sides to heights of from three to five hundred feet, and their green slopes are everywhere broken by shattered pinnacles and bold crags and cliffs of brilliantly tinted dolomites and quartzites.'—McConnell, 129D.





Ramparts of Porcupine River.





swells here, sunken rocks and powerful current)  $\frac{3}{4}$ . A singular isolated pillar on the left bank about 20 feet in height,<sup>1</sup> (the channel is here broader) S.W. & by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , S.W. & by S.  $2\frac{1}{6}$ , (channel again narrow) S.S.E.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , S. & by W.  $2\frac{1}{6}$ . (The principal body of the river rushes through a small channel of about thirty feet wide, between the rocks on one side and a high strong batture on the other, this is named the 'Carribeux leap' from one being able to leap over it, so say the Indians) S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , S. & by W. 2, S.E.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , W.S.W.  $1^2$ , S. & by W. 3, W.  $3\frac{3}{4}$ , N.W. & by N. 2, W. & by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W. & by S.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , W.N.W. 1, (Banks again sloping and wooded) N.W.  $2\frac{3}{4}$ , (Channel broad and rocky hills on each side) W. & by S.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , S.W. & by W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , (River becomes very broad, with low banks, and smooth hills in the distance) S.W. 2, W.S.W.  $4\frac{3}{4}$ , (An island on right  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles long, and another smaller one on the left) N.W.  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , N.E. & by N. 1, Camped at  $\frac{1}{4}$  to 8 o'clock having come a good distance to-day, but have to thank the strong current between the ramparts, the river, for about 68 miles, runs between rocky hills and precipices varying from 30 to 120 in height. The channel is in most points quite narrow but in others it again spreads out, and numerous *points* suitable for camping both summer and winter can be found. Several ugly rocks showed themselves above water, and the heavy swell in the narrows indicated a rough and rocky bottom, where in low water it would be most dangerous for a boat to pass, as there is no possibility of making portages except in a few places, there is good 'tracking ground' all the way, unless the water is very high. The deer are plentiful here all summer, their beaten roads in the passes on each side are often seen, there is a range of mountains extending to the south which they frequent in winter. The Indians arrived after supper with the meat of another small and lean deer, they saw several cross the river but did not go after them being afraid they would not overtake them. The

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1. This 'singular isolated pillar' was afterwards supposed by the traders, according to McConnell, to be equidistant from Lapierre House and Fort Yukon, and was, therefore, known as the Halfway Pillar. The 'small but very rapid river' mentioned by Murray is now known appropriately as Rapid river. Seven miles below this river, Murray passes the site of future Rampart House.

2. Position of Rampart House at the date of McConnell's survey.

3. Position of Howling Dog rock of McConnell's survey.

Loucheux<sup>1</sup> hunter came up at the same time, having eaten nothing all day. He received a piece of meat for supper. The Indians joined in a dance in the evening. I had no opportunity of taking a sketch of the ramparts except when ashore at breakfast [for] which I am sorry, as we passed some very romantic scenery.

23rd. A clear morning, but strong sou'west wind. We started at 6 o'clock accompanied by the six canoes, N.E. & by N. 2 (the river broad and full of battures) N. & by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , (white clay banks) N.N.W.  $2\frac{1}{4}$ , (on the right is Bear Island, so named from a band of seven Grizzly Bears being seen on it) S.S.W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , W.S.W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , S.W.  $\frac{2}{3}$ , S.S.W. 2, S. & by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W. & by S.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , (High sandy banks) S.S.W.  $2\frac{3}{4}$ , S.W.  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , (Blowing a gale of wind right ahead, a heavy swell, and the boat shipping water, were compelled to put ashore in consequence and remained until the wind fell in the evening  $\frac{1}{4}$  to 6 o'clock) continued S.W. 2, (passed 'Carp River' entering from the north)<sup>2</sup> S.W. & by S.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , W. & by N.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , S.S.W. 2, S.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , S.W. & by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , S. & by W.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , W.S.W. 2, S.W.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , W.S.W. 1, W. & by N. 2, W. & by S.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , (High rocky shore) W. 4, W.N.W. 1, (Steep rocky island) W. 1. Encamped at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 o'clock on a small willow island, in a den of mosquitos, the sky again lowering but a calm night. The Indians kept with us all day, and, although not always right, were of some assistance in pointing out the proper channels. The river is now broad and in many places shoal, with numerous small islands and battures, the boat was frequently aground and at one time got afloat with much difficulty. The current is yet strong, but not so much so as between the ramparts. While ashore so long to-day I endeavoured to ascertain the variation of the compas, as the sun shone at times, but passing clouds

1. Throughout this copy of the journal, the name Loucheux is repeatedly spelled Loncheux; possibly an error on Murray's part, but more probably a mistake of the copyist in deciphering his manuscript.

2. Now Coleen river. Succor river, on McConnell's plotting sheen. The 'high rocky shore' which Murray encounters below 'Carp river,' is now known as the Lower Ramparts. McConnell makes the distance from the Lower Ramparts to the mouth of the river, sixty miles, in a direct line, considerably more, of course, taking in the windings of the river. Murray's 'Bear Island' cannot now be identified. Dr. George M. Dawson notes that 'black and grizzly bears roam over the entire region (of the Yukon and its tributaries) and are often seen along the banks of the rivers in the latter part of the summer when dead or dying salmon are to be obtained with ease.'

prevented me from drawing a meridian line accurately with the rude instrument I carried for that purpose, I could not be certain whether it was 43 or 44 degrees east, I had the compass marked *by guess* at 45 east to-day which comes *pretty near the mark*.

24th. The morning being favourable the men were *rouse'd* early, we had so much bad weather lately, that it was thought best to take advantage of it when fine. Under way at 20 m. past 4 o'clock, still blowing fresh from the same quarter as yesterday, but with little swell. W.S.W.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , W.  $3\frac{3}{4}$ , W. & by N.  $2\frac{1}{4}$ , (an island, low hills in the distance to the N. and East) W. 4, (low muddy banks covered with pines and willows) W. N.W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W 1, W. & by N.  $\frac{1}{3}$ , W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , (Blue hills seen about 10 miles distant to the south, the river divides here, followed the north channel, the other appears to run about 2 miles to the south) W. & by N.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S.S.E.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , S.W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , S.S.W.  $1\frac{1}{3}$ , (joined south channel) W.S.W. 2, S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , E.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , S.E.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , S.W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , (A river similar to Rat River enters from the south,<sup>1</sup> head of large island, kept the left channel) S.W. 4, S.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , E.S.E.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , (Blue mountains seen 15 or 20 miles ahead) S.S.E.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{3}$ , (a small river enters from the east) W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , N.N.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , S.W. & by W.  $\frac{2}{3}$ , S.W. & by S.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , S.W. & by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , W.  $2\frac{1}{4}$ , (foot of large island above noted) N.W. & by W.  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , S. & by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , S. & by E.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , S.W. & by S. 4, W & by S.  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , S.S.E.  $2\frac{1}{4}$ , (another island) S.W. & by W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , S. & by W.  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , S.W. & by S.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , (Three beaver were seen here and one killed) W. 1, (a lake pointed out in the left where the Youcon Indians come to hunt rats in spring<sup>2</sup>) N.W. & by W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , W $\frac{1}{3}$ , (several small islands) S.W.  $2\frac{3}{4}$ , W.S.W. 1, (island on right) S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{6}$ , S.E.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , S.S.W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , W. $\frac{1}{2}$ , (River shoal, went aground. A smoke discerned on the bank below, at what is called the canoe portage, to which the Indians hurried, on arriving they informed us that it was a *Death Fire*. It is the custom of these Indians when any of them die, to make a fire at a public place where they know their friends will pass, willow poles are stuck in the ground on which is hung the hair of the deceased. They told us, by what marks I know not, that

1. Probably the stream now known as Rat river, joining the Porcupine to the east of  $144^{\circ}$ .

2. Rat lake.



it was an old man that had died, and being anxious about their relations, they said they must leave us, but directed us to keep to the left of a large island we would arrive at to-morrow. At this time a thick smoke was noticed to the south, supposed to be a *signal fire*, which hastened their departure. They shouldered their canoes and disappeared amongst the willows. The Peels River Indians continued with us) N.W. & by W. 2, N. W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W.S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S.W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , S.S.W.  $2\frac{3}{4}$ , (passed through a small channel on the right) W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , (joined main channel) NW.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , S.W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , where we encamped for the night at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 o'clock, the men greatly fatigued. Islands, battures, and small channels increase in number as we descend, and the navigation of the river is of course more intricate, but the bottom which we frequently touched is smooth and gravily. The current continues strong, the banks are low and covered with larger trees than we have seen on this river. There are several places which can only be ascended with the boat in spring, by poling, as there is no possibility of either *tracking* or using ours.<sup>1</sup> A warm and beautiful evening.

25th. A fine morning, we were off before 5 o'clock. S.W. & by S. 1, W. & by S.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , (a channel on right) N.W. & by N. 2, W. & by N. 2, S.W.  $1\frac{1}{3}$ , S.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , S. & by W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , W.S.W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , W & by S.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , ( a channel on left) S.W. & by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , (small channel or river on right, soft undermining banks, river narrow) S.W. 1, the river divides, suppose this to be the head of the island mentioned by the Indians. Kept to the left, (the smallest branch) S.W. & by W. 2, S. & by W.  $\frac{1}{3}$ , S.S.E.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , S. & by W.  $1\frac{1}{3}$ , W. & by N.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , (channels on each side) S. W. & by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , S.S.W.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , (joined the main channel) S. W.  $\frac{1}{3}$ , S.S.E. 1, (A river with clear water enters from the east<sup>2</sup>), S.S. W.  $1\frac{1}{3}$ , W. 1, (channel on right) S.W. & W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S.W. & by S.  $1\frac{1}{3}$ , (another small clear river, suppose a branch of the

1. i.e., oars.

2. Probably Big Black river, entering the Porcupine from the south-east. Murray has passed Salmon river, coming in from the north above Big Black river, but does not mention it in his journal. 'For some miles above its mouth,' says McConnell, the Porcupine 'divides around numerous islands, and branching channels become so frequent that care has to be exercised to select the right one.' McConnell makes the distance from Rampart House to the mouth of the Porcupine, measured in a straight line, about one hundred miles, and fully one hundred and fifty by the course of the river.

above enters from East) W. & by S. 1, (channel on left) S.W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S.E. & by S.  $\frac{1}{3}$ , S. & by E.  $\frac{2}{3}$ , (lake on left) S.W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{6}$ , (River again divides, followed the left branch) W. & by S.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , W.N.W. 1, W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{6}$ , S.  $\frac{1}{3}$ , W.  $\frac{1}{3}$ , W.N.W.  $\frac{1}{6}$ , W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S. & by W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , (River again forks off, still kept to the left) W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{6}$ , W.N.W. 1, (a lake on right) S.W. & by W.  $\frac{1}{3}$ , (Went aground in a narrow and shoal place, we were afraid we had taken the wrong branch, but the P. River Indian among us told us we would soon join the main channel, all hands were forced to take to the water, and dragged the boat over almost dry land, there was now no current) S.W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S. & by E.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{3}$ , W.  $\frac{1}{6}$ , N.W. & by N.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W.  $\frac{1}{3}$ , S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W.S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , N. & by W.  $\frac{1}{6}$ , N.W. & by W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W.N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S.W. & by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , S.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , S. & by E.  $\frac{2}{3}$ , S.W. & by S. 1, (a small lake on left) W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. & by N.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , N. & by W.  $\frac{1}{6}$ , W. & by S.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , N.  $\frac{1}{6}$ , N.E. & by N.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , N.W. & by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , W.S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , N. & by W.  $\frac{1}{6}$ , N. & by E.  $\frac{1}{6}$ , E. & by N.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , (small channels on right) N.W.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , N.W. & by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , (The river was before us, and we had hard work to shove the boat through, being almost closed up between the banks, we had followed the wrong channel this time, again in deep water) N. & by S.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , S. 2, S.W. & by W.  $\frac{1}{6}$ , W. & by N.  $\frac{1}{4}$  (channel on left) W.S.W. 2, (A small river on left and 2 channels on right) S.S.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , W.  $\frac{1}{3}$ , N.N.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , (large channel on right) N.N.W. 1, on rounding the point we saw four Indians on the south bank who fired two shots as we approached. The water was shoal close in shore and on demanding which was the best place to land, they said there was no occasion for us to come ashore, as there were *nobody* there. You are there, was the reply of the interpreter; they then said they had nothing to give us, but on going ashore we found that they had something—to wit—the carcass of a large moose just killed. After each receiving a small piece of tobacco, and being told the object of our coming to their country, they became more communicative, and gave us much information respecting the river, etc. They said that they expected us last year, but after what the Rat Indians told them, they gave up all hope of now seeing us, but they were pleased we had come, so would all of their nation, but there were other people (the 'Gens-du-fou') farther up the Youcon that would be angry. Not expecting us, they

were afraid when they first saw us, which was the reason they did not wish us to come on shore. The fresh meat was now willingly traded for powder and ball, and after talking and smoking for half an hour more we hurried on for the *mighty river*, now close at hand, the Indians accompanying us in their canoes—N.W. & by W. 1—*One reach more*. Sou'Sou West,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile, and we entered the turbid waters of the Youcon. Having ascertained from the Indians that there was no high land below, the bows of the *Pioneer* were turned up stream, and all in good spirits at being so near *home*, we pushed on at a great rate for some time following to the sou'west behind an island, but on reaching the upper end, we joined the main channel, and met the full force of a *Youcon current*; that of the McKenzie is nothing to it; it was with much difficulty—at certain places—we could make any way against it with the oars; the banks are so overhanging, thickly wooded, and choked with fallen trees, that tracking was equally laborious, and the water too deep in most places for using poles. Some of the men were sent ashore with axes and a passage made until we rounded the point with the line; after which we got on a *little* better. Bearing to the south and sou'east another mile, we put ashore at the entrance to a small lake at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 o'clock for the purpose of encamping, but the mosquitos seemed determined we should not, we were congratulating each other on starting at getting clear of Peels River before the mosquito season, but this is 'out of the frying pan into the fire.' I have been in the swamps of Lake Ponchartrain and the Balize, along the Red River (Texas)<sup>1</sup> and most parts of that 'Gullinipper' country,<sup>2</sup> but never experienced anything like this; we could neither speak nor breathe without our mouths being filled with them, close your eyes, and you had fast half a dozen, fires were lit all

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1. Lake Pontchartrain, about six miles north of New Orleans. A canal connects it with the city and with the Mississippi. Balize, one of the pilot-towns near the mouth of the Mississippi. Red river, the lowest of the great tributaries of the Mississippi traverses Texas and several other states.

2. Gallinipper, a large mosquito. Of uncertain origin, (the name, not the mosquito) according to Murray's New English Dictionary. One of the characters in Haliburton's 'Clockmaker' is described as jumping up 'a snappin' of his fingers, as if he wor bit by a galley-nipper.'

around, but of no avail.<sup>1</sup> Rather than be devoured, the men, fatigued as they were, preferred stemming the current a little longer, to reach a dry and open spot a little further on, of which the Indians informed us. Another half hour's hard *tug-ging* brought us to it, and we encamped on the banks of the Youcon.

I must say, as I sat smoking my pipe and my face besmeared with tobacco juice to keep at bay the d——d mosquitos still hovering in clouds around me, that my first impressions of the Youcon were anything but favourable. As far as we had come (2 $\frac{1}{4}$  miles) I never saw an uglier river, every where low banks, apparently lately overflowed, with lakes and swamps behind, the trees too small for building, the water abominably dirty and the current furious; but I was consoled with the hopes held out by our Indian informant, that a short distance further on was higher land.

The trip from Lapiers House occupied eight days, but we were much delayed by rain and adverse winds; next summer the river will be better known, and if the water is high, and weather favourable, I have no doubt the trip will be made in six days. The distance from Lapiers House to the Youcon is (*I calculate*) *four hundred and fifty-two miles, this, you will say, is only guess work*, it cannot be otherwise, there is such a multitude of sharp points and windings which had to be guessed at, that no one could be certain; but I have been as accurate as was in my power, and guess it will hereafter be found not *far* wrong. I may have tired you by being over particular in noting matters of no importance, but as aforesaid this book has to be filled up and I have only followed the fashion of McKenzie River, and some other parts of the country—the great fire on the Columbia, to wit—by making a long story out of what might be comprised in a common signed letter.

We arrived here all safe, on Friday June 25th, on which

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1. A new Commination Service might be constructed out of the recorded utterances of North American travellers on the subject of the energetic and enterprising mosquito. W. W. Kirby, who journeyed from Lapiere House to Fort Yukon about 1860, says that he encountered 'myriads of the most voracious mosquitoes that I have met with in the country.'

2. McConnell makes the distance 337 miles, as follows: Lapiere House to mouth of Bell river, 30 miles; Bell river to Rampart House, 157 miles; Rampart House to Fort Yukon, 150 miles.



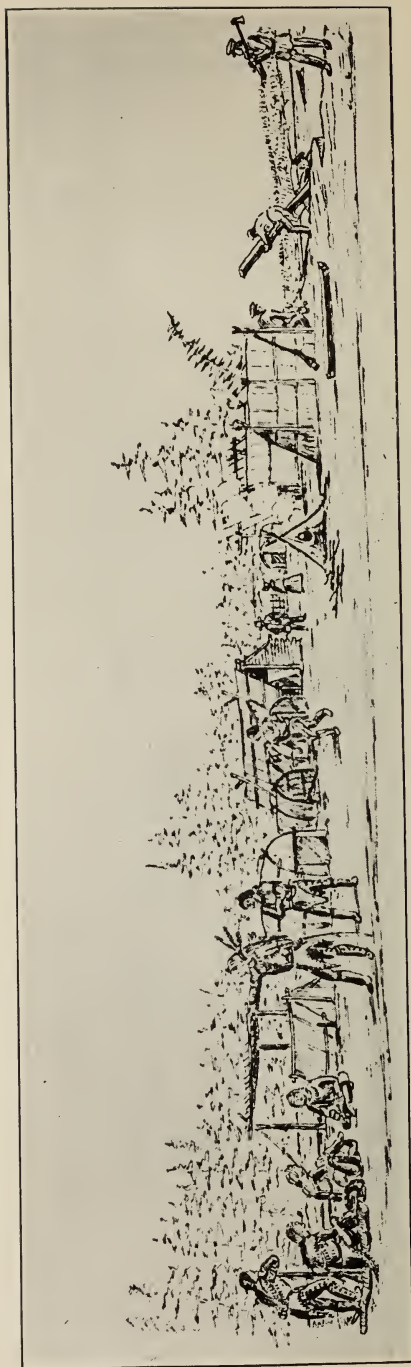
date was commenced the regular journal, but I shall here continue my narrative for the remaining days of the month, to give you a more particular account of our first interviews with the natives than is therein mentioned.

Next morning (Saturday 26th) I left with three men and one of the Indians to explore the banks of the river for a site for our Fort, and was guided by the Indian, who seemed to take great interest and pride in showing us the best places, and in describing the banks of the river above and below. We found the land all too low, and with marks of being overflowed, except two places to which he took us. The one chosen is decidedly the most eligible, and answers *well* only for the scarcity of timber; it is a ridge of dry land extending about 300 yards parallel with the river, and 90 yards in width; the banks are here as they are everywhere else as far as we have seen, sandy and undermining, but there is a large batture in the river in front, and above that an island of about a mile in length, which sets the current out, and prevents it except perhaps in high water, from cutting away the banks. Behind us is another and larger ridge of high land but it is too far from the river. The other place mentioned is about a mile farther up on the same side of the river, where there is still higher land, but the banks are composed of pure sand, the wood still scarcer than here, and the small channel opposite, which passes behind the island nearly closed up and in the fall quite dry. Having made the best choice I could, we returned, and tracked the boat up to our final encampment, had the goods and everything taken ashore and placed in security for the night.<sup>1</sup> After the Indians were informed that we had decided on building here, two of them left to inform their friends of our arrival in their country, the two others remained with us, one of whom is a leader of a small band of fourteen men, who, he says, obey him like his own children, it was his father who died lately, and whose *Death Fire* we saw on Porcupine river; he often spoke of his father.

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1. Murray elsewhere gives the position of Fort Yukon as three miles above the mouth of the Porcupine, on the east bank of the Yukon. W. W. Kirby says 'about three miles.' McConnell gives the position as 'a mile and a half above the confluence of the two streams.' 'Fort Yukon,' he adds, 'which was originally one of the best built forts in the north. is now (1888) a thing of the past, and with the exception of one of the outbuildings, which has probably also disappeared by this time, has been torn down to supply wood for the steamers plying on the river.'





Camping on the Yukon.

and with great affection and sorrow, and sometimes so agitated that he could scarcely articulate his words. The old chief, he said, was once a great man and a great warrior, and would have been happy to have seen the whites again (it was he whom Mr. Bell saw in the camp of Rat Indians) that before his death he spoke good words to his sons, and when he disobeyed his father's last advice, he knew he would not live long, for three days and nights his tears had been running, because he had no tobacco to smoke upon his father's grave, but he was now made happy, for he would take care of the piece I had given him. I told him to use that, and some more would be given him for that purpose when he left us. I gave him a knife for his services in showing us the river, etc., and a present of comb and looking glass and a little vermilion with which he was greatly pleased. In the evening, he and the Peels River hunter had some harranging, exchanged dresses, and made good friends.

27th. The Sunday was spent by the men in preparing little bark cabins for themselves, and by the interpreter and I in talking with the Indian leader, who gave very direct answers to our numerous questions about the country, the natives, the Russians, etc. He was one of four Indians from the place that had seen the Russians the previous summer, and described them as did the others at Lapiers House, as being all well armed with pistols, their boat was about the same size as ours, but, as he thought, made of sheet iron, but carrying more people. They had a great quantity of beads, kettles, guns, powder, knives and pipes, and traded all the furs from the bands, principally for beads and knives, after which they traded dogs, but the Indians were unwilling to part with their dogs, and the Russians rather than go without gave a *gun* for each, as they required many to bring their goods across the portage to the river they descended. The Indians expected to see the Russians here soon, as they had promised to come up with *two boats*, not only to trade but to explore this river to its source.

This was not very agreeable news to me, knowing that we were on their land, but I kept my thoughts to myself, and determined to keep a sharp lookout in case of surprise. I found that the population of this country was much larger than I expected, and more furs to be traded than I had goods to pay for. Mr. McKenzie and I divided the night watch between us,



a rule laid down and strictly adhered to when Indians were with us.

28th. About 4 o'clock in the morning we were aroused by reports of fire arms from the point below, and every one was on his feet in an instant, three shots were fired by us in return, twenty canoes hove in sight around the point and soon paddled up along shore until close to our encampment, all the Indians joining in songs and most unearthly shouts. They remained in their canoes without attempting to land until the Indian leader spoke to them; as soon as they had collected on the bank (there were fifteen men with their wives and families in all about forty) their chief, a young man, commenced to harrangue, but it was addressed to the Peels River Indian, who replied at great length in his own defence. The Loncheux of Peels river and the Indians of the Youcon were at war a few years since, and are not yet on the best of terms, it was concerning this and not us the chief was talking. I gave each of the *men* three inches of tobacco to smoke before we commenced with the *speechifying*. They immediately formed into a circle and began to sing and dance at a *furious rate*, expressive of their joy at seeing us, they then brought from their canoes some fresh meat and a quantity of dried fish, and laid it at the door of my tent and traded it willingly for powder, ball and tobacco. As advised by the interpreter I deferred saying much until the principal chief arrived with another band which one of the Indians had gone after. During the day two more Indians arrived from the opposite side of the river, and in the evening another salute of five guns was heard from below. Not approving of the practice of wasting ammunition I ordered the men not to fire, but one Indians monitor (the young leader) said it was the custom with them, when they came in peace, to discharge their guns, and if we did not return the salute, they might consider us to be enemies. Five shots were then fired in answer to theirs, which was responded to from the fleet of canoes, now close at hand, by yells and shouts that might have 'struck terror to the soul of Richard,' but *we* knew it was that of rejoicing. There were eighteen men also some women and children in this party. They hauled up their canoes a short distance below; and formed on the bank in 'Indian file,' the chief in front, the women and children in the rear, and danced forward by degrees until in

front of the tent, where they were joined by the first party, formed into a large circle, with the two chiefs in the centre, and continued dancing and singing without intercession<sup>1</sup> for upwards of half an hour. A small piece of tobacco, the same as before, was given to each of those last come, and a larger piece to the chief, a fine looking young man, easily distinguished from the others by his eagle feathers and a greater profusion of beads on his dress. Some more fresh meat was brought forward and traded as before for ammunition and tobacco. The principal chief then shortly addressed the Peels River Indian, supposing him to be our interpreter, and concluded by saying, he 'waited to hear the White Chief speak.' What I had to say was all 'cut and dry' and delivered by the Interpreter in sentences, and after their own fashion. I commenced by bringing to their remembrance Mr. Bell's visit to this river three summers ago,<sup>2</sup> when they were all absent. We had heard so much from other natives, about their being a brave people and friendly to the whites, and their country reported so good for furs and provisions, that we had come with the intention of building a Fort and remaining among them. We had sent messengers by the men of the lakes, last winter, to warn them of our intention, but these people had not told them the truth, they were angry at our bringing so many things into this country, because it would prevent them from trading the furs at so low prices—that we had come a long journey, and had much trouble in bringing the goods across the mountains, still he would trade with them at the same rate as at Peels River and other parts of the country. I told them we were a different nation from the *Whites* some of them had seen farther down the river last summer, these people only came once a year to take away their furs, and cheat them with useless goods, what we brought were good, guns, knives, and everything else, and we meant to live always amongst them, but this year, we had only brought a few goods

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1. Evidently should read 'intermission.'

2. Dr. George M. Dawson says 'Mr. J. Bell . . . was in 1846 in charge of the Hudson Bay post on Peel river . . . and was instructed again to cross the mountains and to further explore the Porcupine river. In pursuance of these instructions, he in that year reached the mouth of the Porcupine and saw the great river into which it flows, which the Indians informed him was named the Yukon.' It is clear from what Murray here says, that Bell explored the Porcupine to its mouth in 1844, not 1846.

on trial, and if they brought us plenty of good furs, and were able to supply us with food, that more goods and more men would be sent next summer, and we would build a large Fort and reside always in their country, and supply them with guns at twenty Beaver each, instead of twenty-five and thirty which they had been giving to other nations, and the same quantity of beads for six Beaver for which they had given the men of the lakes twelve and fifteen. After enumerating the articles we had, their excellent qualities, and the rate at which they were traded, I concluded by asking if they wished us to remain and build here (several of the young men, regardless of Indian etiquette, replied *aha, aha* (yes, yes) and if so, if they would bring their furs to us instead of taking them to the other whites (the Russians).

The principal chief, after being spoken to by several others, walked to the front and *made a speech*, the longest I ever listened to,<sup>1</sup> except, perhaps, a *cameronian sermon*, and some parts of [it] equally far from the text. The interpreter could not repeat one fourth of it. He began by telling us the bravery of his nation, the extent of their country, the quantity of furs they could bring, and the moose and Rein deer they could kill; and after a *super-extra* allowance of boasting and self praise arrived at what I wanted to hear. He said the *White chief* had spoken truth; they found now that they had been cheated by the other bands, and would hereafter bring their furs to us; they wished no more to see the 'twisted' (the Rat Indians under Grand Blanc) in their country, they had told them what was not true, and they had given up hopes of seeing us, and some of them were just preparing to go and meet the other whites down the river, but they would not; that they had not so many furs at present, but would soon bring what they had, as they much wanted beads and guns. He and his followers were glad that we had come to their country and wished us to remain amongst them and they would strive to supply us with meat, and what other things we required.

The other chief (leader of the first party) spoke, to the same effect respecting his band, they were all rejoiced to see

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1. McConnell had to suffer a long harangue, by Senatee, chief of the Fort Yukon Indians. 'As time was precious,' he adds, 'the harangue was cut short by the present of a couple of handfuls of tea, the probable object for which it was made.'

us and made great promises. I told them that I was pleased to hear them talk so well, we had heard that they were *great hunters*, and we had brought little to eat, depending on them to bring us meat. That we much wanted dressed moose skins for shoes, for we had brought none with us. Battishe<sup>1</sup> for snowshoes in winter, parchment for windows for our houses, deer skins and sinews, etc. That we would trade all good furs made in winter or spring but not those killed in summer. We had this year very few beads and guns, and would only give them for Martens, Beavers, Black and Silver Foxes. That anything else we had, would be given for all other furs, except Rats and Marinots.<sup>2</sup> I then advised them to turn their attention to making provisions and those things we so much required, and as an 'earnest of future favors' some tobacco ready cut up on a board was presented to them; very few of them had pipes, and I noticed several chewing the tobacco and even swallowing the juice. After smoking until several were completely intoxicated, the young chief 'par exemple' could not get up until a drink of water was given to him, he said they were now very happy and wished to have a great dance, but they had only black paint at present if they had some red it would make them look much *prettier*. A little vermilion and a present of a comb and looking glass was given to each of the chiefs. They retired to where the women had prepared an encampment with branches and in a short time issued forth arrayed in all their fineries, and commenced to a regular *Break Down*, all joining. Thirty-seven men and a lot of women and children, only two of whom had before seen the Whites. They danced a variety of figures accompanied always with songs, and continued at it for nearly two hours. I am partly wrong in saying *figures*, with one exception they danced always in a circle, the only difference in their steps, gestures, and songs, of which latter they have a great variety.<sup>3</sup> After the *ball* was finished they retired to their own encampment, but the singing was taken up, at intervals, until morning.

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1. The thongs forming the net of snowshoes.

2. Probably should read 'Marmots.'

3. 'The formal dance,' says Richardson, 'is always in a circle, but the gestures and the songs which accompany them vary.'



29th. Little work was done by the men yesterday except grinding and handling their axes. To-day we erected a temporary store for the goods and provisions and a scaffold for drying meat. One of the men was employed preparing a small piece of ground for an experimental garden.<sup>1</sup> The day was showery and warm, and our fresh meat, now more than we could use, beginning to spoil, several of the Indian women were employed in cutting it up, for which they each received an awl, and considered it great payment. I had some more talk with the Indians, a few of them left to kill moose for us, the others remaining and although inquisitive and often in our way, were very *becoming in their manners*, and offering to assist in whatever had to be done.

30th. All hands except Mr. McKenzie, the Interpreter and Myself went to the opposite island for bark, although there were with us a good assemblage of as wild and savage looking fellows as needs [be], I felt no more apprehension of danger than amongst the slaves at Fort Simpson,<sup>2</sup> they were too glad to see us here to offer any violence, still it behooved us to be always on our ground.<sup>3</sup> In the afternoon the men returned with the bark, had the store covered and everything removed into it, and now secure from the weather. It was 24 feet by 14, built of unhewn logs, and half open at the end facing the river, in the

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1. As will be seen later, this garden was partially successful. 'While in the possession of the Hudson Bay Company,' says McConnell, 'some gardening was done in the vicinity of the fort, notwithstanding the fact that it is situated almost on the Arctic circle. Potatoes and other vegetables were raised, and barley is reported to have ripened. On the Mackenzie river, gardening ceases to the north at almost the same latitude.' F. C. Schrader reports that 'the more hardy vegetables are grown on a somewhat large scale in the mission gardens at Nulato,' some distance below Fort Yukon. See Dr. Dawson's conclusions as to the possibilities of agriculture on the Yukon, Geol. Survey, 1887-8, 24B. Petroff notes that good potatoes have been grown in certain localities in Alaska for eighty years or more. 'The cereal crops,' he says, 'cannot be grown in Alaska.' There was, nevertheless, exhibited at the Toronto Exhibition in 1908, wheat of splendid quality, grown at Dawson, on the Yukon.

2. The reference here is not to slaves as bondmen, but to the tribe of that name. The Slaves belong to the Athapascan linguistic stock, and inhabit the country about Slave river, Great Slave lake, and the upper waters of the Mackenzie. Fort Simpson stands on an island at the mouth of the Liard river, and is 'the headquarters of the fur-trade on the Mackenzie.' See McConnell's description of the fort, fur-trade, agriculture, &c., Geol. Survey, 1888-9, 85D.

3. 'Guard.'

door way my own tent was pitched so that none could enter in the night without my knowledge, the men's cabins were close to it, each was provided with a loaded gun, my own gun and those remaining from the box were also charged and ready at hand in case of need.

The Indians who left yesterday returned with the meat of one old, and one young moose killed this morning, which with the skins they traded as before. In the evening two of the 'Gens-du-fou' arrived in their canoes from their lands farther up the Youcon. They belonged to the band of the chief who visited Peels River in the spring; it was them the other Indians referred to as being angry at our coming here. Those two brought nothing, but said they had come only to see where we were building, that their people were encamped some days' journey up the river, and would come here as soon as they heard of our arrival. But the Indians here thought they had come only to see whether we had pickets around our encampment, as they *did not speak well*. The young leader cautioned us to be on our guard when the band arrived, as they would likely come in great numbers. The customary haranguing commenced between them and those here, they said nothing concerning us in public, but were greatly displeased to find a Peels River Indian with us, most unfortunately a great number of their women had died lately, and many were sick when they left their camp, one of their women had been stolen from the Loncheux of Peels River, and they believed that 'Vandeh' our hunter, to revenge the loss of said woman who was a relative of his, had made *medicine* to kill them, and they now wished to kill him that no more of their wives might die. Poor Vandeh had been in hot water ever since his arrival here, and thought now that his day was come, and talked of making tracks homeward, but I told him not to be alarmed, and leave me to speak to them. I did not attempt to persuade them of the absurdity of their belief, for all the tribes in this part of the country believe as gospel, that certain individuals have necromantic powers to cause the death of others, though a great distance apart.<sup>1</sup> But I told the two *foolish gentlemen* that Vandeh was

1. On the shamans or medicine-men of the Alaskan tribes, and their practices, see Ivan Petroff's 'Report on the Population, Industries and Resources of Alaska,' 162, &c.; also W. H. Dall's 'Alaska and its Resources,' Richardson's 'Arctic Searching Expedition,' I. 385.

not a 'medicine man' nor an enemy of theirs, but he had come with us on purpose to speak for them, when they brought no interpreter, and be their friend; that he belonged to us, and while we were here none would be allowed to do him harm. The other Indians were all present but took no part in this, as they did not wish to displease the Gens-du-fou, who they say are very strong, the two bands nearest this numbering upwards of a hundred men. I had a long conversation with the two strangers, and explained all to them the same as to the others, made some inquiries respecting their trade with the Russians, the strength of their party, etc., but received generally evasive answers. I regretted much to hear that they were displeased at Peels River last spring, they say that the person who traded with them offered to kill their chief. The whole affair is this: While I was absent on the trip to Lapiers House, Edward McGillivray<sup>1</sup> was left in charge of the Fort during which time the Gens-du-fou arrived. I met them at Lapiers House and sent a note by the chief to McGillivray with instructions to treat them well, etc. While trading with them in the shop, he was showing off to the chief, the way to stab a man, of course, only in sport, but these Indians who are the most trifling and awkward to deal with of all the northern tribes, took it in earnest and left immediately, but these two here appeared satisfied with our explanation. Another very annoying circumstance happened at the same time, and was in direct opposition to my instructions: one of the Indians had twenty skins for which he wanted a gun, there were none to give him, and he being unwilling to take other goods, the interpreter promised to give him his own gun when he came to the Youcon, and the furs were left. The only way I could arrange this was to pay the interpreter for his gun at Peels River, but he by accident broke his gun in the spring and it was of no use bringing it here. I am now obliged to keep a gun to pay a Peels River debt, rather than displease these Indians, the furs were received and must be paid for. While talking with them, I took good care to tell them that we were all well armed, and being in a strange country kept guard every night, and advised them whom we considered our

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1. Edward McGillivray. Many of this surname in the fur trade. Richardson mentions a M'Gillivray Island, a little above the estuary of the Mackenzie—perhaps named after Edward McGillivray above mentioned.

friends, when they came to see us, to come during the day, for if they arrived in the night, in fall or winter when it was dark, we might take them for enemies. They were particularly amused with my double barreled gun, I also showed them my pistols which I took from my coat pocket, one of which (the only one with a lock) I fired at, and hit, by chance, a stick floating past in the river. They were greatly astonished at this, so were the other Indians, and so was I myself, for it was almost a gun shot distant. One of them offered to bring me fifteen skins in Martens if I would give him the pistol, but he was told that we did not trade them, but kept them only for self defence. After a deal more *friendly* discourse, I gave them a piece of tobacco to deliver to their chief, and remind him of his promise to me last spring, that he and his followers would come here in the summer and bring a supply of dried meat and geese.

It was past midnight before our conference was broken off, and I felt as tired of talking, as I do of writing at this moment. I had got very little rest since our arrival, and was too fatigued to remain longer, so I tumbled in for a good sleep, while Mr. McKenzie took the morning watch.

Note.—One band of the 'Gens-du-fou' have, of late years, had much intercourse with the Loucheux Indians, and many of them speak the language, when a strange party of them come to trade in the Loucheux country, they generally bring a person to interpret for them, both of those here spoke Loucheux fluently.

Our encampment on the Youcon was, barring the mosquitos, a very pleasant place, much more so than I expected to find on first entering the river, and I must say that we passed the summer very comfortably, although in the midst of a heathen land, and so far removed from civilized country. Fort Simpson for instance, we Youconians consider as a partly *civilized* place, and talk of it as you would of Red River settlement. Rat Portage is to us what Portage la Loche is to the [people?] of the McKenzie, and we look upon Peels River as being near home; but this is now our home, a home in the 'far west' with a vengeance. Not many years ago the settlers in Wisconsin and Iowa thought they could go little farther; an editor of some newspaper published in these parts



described his town as being so far west that it was *almost on the edge*, but he knew not the Youcon. *We are over the edge*, and that by a 'long chalk,' which I call six degrees of longitude across the Russian boundary.<sup>1</sup> Of late years the margin is considered, by folks wot don't know no better, to be the outermost stretch, but what is that to the Youcon? We are thirty-three degrees farther west than the mouth of their great river, though still on terra firma, and I wish it was our own, I mean the Hudson's Bay Co.'s, at least for a term of years until we thinned it of its superabundance of Beaver and Martens.

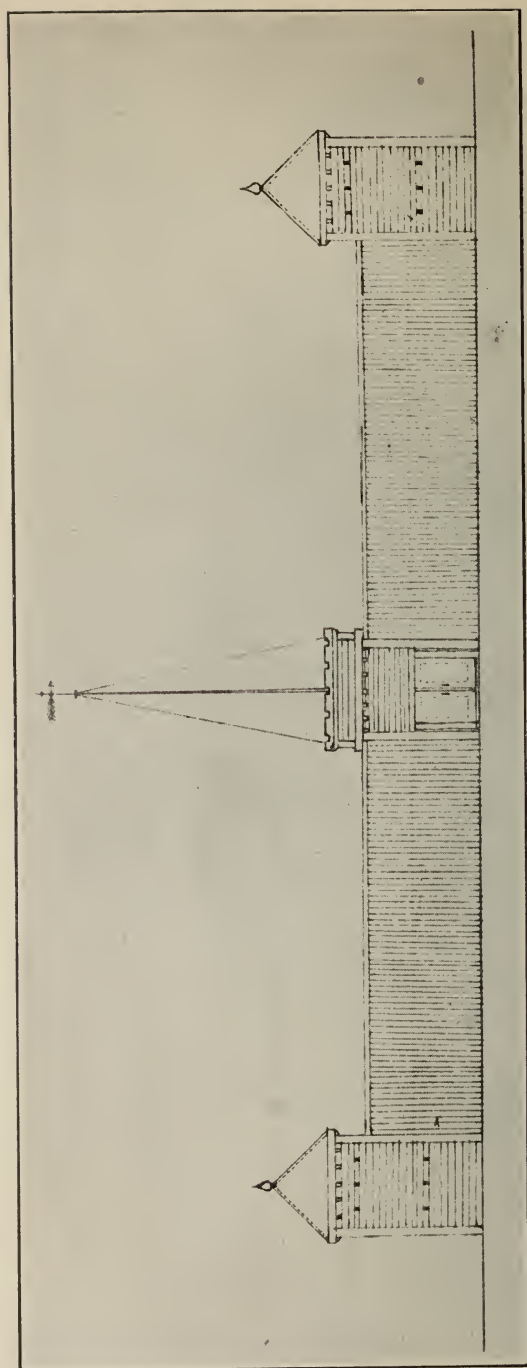
But I am wandering from my subject, it was to give you some account of the first season on the Youcon that I have taken up my pen. I have said our encampment was a pleasant place, and so it was, quite a little village entertaining no less than six *dwelling houses*, all built upon the Sabbath day, for which I am not to be held accountable. They were made of willow poles covered with pine bark, and fashioned according to the fancy of their owners, some open at the end, some half open, and others only with a small door. Besides these six *houses*, there was a log store, also another cabin for containing dried fish, two more scaffolds, and a garden measuring *12 feet by 8*—said garden was prepared and fenced out, and on the 1st of July a few potatoes were planted, and it was my peculiar care and pleasure to attend to it and have it duly watered in droughty weather, never expecting, that at that advanced season the *crop* could be brought to maturity, but to try by every means in my power to preserve seed for the ensuing summer.

Our village was built on a small clearance or prairie of about 40 yards square, close to the river bank on the lower part of the ridge of rising ground before mentioned: about 100 yards farther up was the highest land and extending farthest from the river, this was chosen for the site of our establishment, it was thickly covered with pines and willows, and the men commenced at once and had a large clearance made and the heaps of rubbish committed to the flames. On July 1st our regular operations were begun and all hands constantly employed, still we got on very

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1. As a matter of fact, Fort Yukon was a little over four degrees west of the international boundary; the latter being long. 141°, and Fort Yukon, according to Capt. C. W. Raymond, U.S.A., being in lat. 66° 33' 47", and long. 145° 17' 47".





Fort Yukon.

slowly, most of the men (the Orkney men)<sup>1</sup> were green hands with axes and could scarcely square a log, and it was seldom but some of them were off duty by being [cut?] and lamed. Except a few sticks, all the building wood had to be brought in the boat from the islands opposite about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile distant, but owing to the numerous battures and the strong current in the river, they had to go about two miles to reach the islands, and more time was occupied in going and coming than in cutting and squaring the wood. Having already formed great ideas of the country, I determined on building a Fort worthy of it, we are in an isolated corner of the country and cut off from all communication with other posts at least for assistance, and surrounded by hostile Indians, the Rat Indians are enraged at our being here, the 'Gens-du-fou' reported ditto, also those down the river with whom the Russians have been trading, the Russians themselves might give us battle, and I concluded on making a convenient and substantial Fort, though it might take longer time. A plan was drawn out and by it the building was guided, but as the work is regularly noted in the public journal, it is unnecessary to make any particular mention of it here, none of us were idle, there was always enough to do for both master and man. We were fortunate in having generally fine weather but there were often gales of wind, thunder storms and rain, the month of July was oppressively warm, the thermometer ranging so high that it would not have disgraced the tropics. I never before spent a summer so far north and could scarcely [have] credited others had I been told, that, on the banks of the Youcon, not far from the Arctic circle, the thermometer was, at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of July 10th, 90 degrees above zero—but of the weather anon; a meteorological journal was kept from the 1st of the month of which you shall have a copy. We were seldom without visitors, and they did not often come empty handed, we had always *plenty to eat* and plenty to do so that none were allowed to weary. Geese and duck were always passing, and now and then a Beaver would clap his tail 'en passant' before our levee. The woods behind abounded in rabbits and partridges, and go which way one

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1. From almost the beginning of its history, the Hudson Bay Company has drawn largely upon the Orkneys for its men.



would, if a good shot, he need not return without something for the kettle.

We lived on good terms with the natives and feared nothing, except to see two boat loads of Russians heave round the point on a nocturnal visit from the Gens-du-fou.

The natives on whose lands we are number about ninety men, and are divided into three bands, the chiefs or leaders of each with a number of their followers were here in June as I have already noticed at length, the others were soon made aware of our arrival, and in a month afterward I believe they had all been here, and all were alike pleased to see us. They soon brought us their furs, principally Beaver and Martens the greater part of which had been brought up by the leaders and a few of the *rich* men of the nation who were preparing to meet the Russians down the river. Beads and guns were always demanded and I had few to give them, and was anxious to distribute what I had as equally as possible amongst them. But they were not satisfied with this mode of trading, they say when the others go to trade with the Russians they get what they ask for and expect the same here, while we had what they required. Notwithstanding the explanations and reasons given we had some difficulty in pleasing all, they were however satisfied with our prices. Blankets, axes, knives, powder horns and files went off readily enough, but it was hard to dispose of the clothing, as they consider their own dresses much superior to ours both in beauty and durability, and they are partly right, although I endeavoured to persuade them to the contrary. I could not give them the reason for bringing so few goods, that we had brought only a few on trial, but more would be sent next year, which was the only way to prevent them from disposing of their furs elsewhere.

I may now notice some of the principal arrivals during summer, by way of lengthening my yarn and giving you a clear knowledge of our interviews with the other bands of Indians.

On the 6th of July the 'Letter Carrier,' chief of the 'Vanta Kootchin' (people of the lakes) arrived with twenty men. This Indian is well known at Peels River having visited that place annually since its establishment, he sent a message in the spring that he would meet me here in the summer. They brought some dried meat geese and battiche according as desired, but the object of their visit was principally to receive some ammu-

nitition for the summers hunt and to see where we were building. The Letter Carrier said this place was much more convenient for him and nearer his country than Peels River, and he would prefer trading here if I wished it, he had a debt at Peels River but had furs to pay for it. I told him he was at liberty to trade wherever he chose, but that we had very little goods this year, and he could get no advances except in ammunition, and as there were plenty of Martens and Beaver in this country we would trade no rats at least for the present, but if he came here we would be well pleased, as we looked upon him and his people as our particular friends, etc., etc. What they brought was paid for in ammunition, tobacco, and knives, and a few of them only got credit although they all asked for it. The Youcon chief and his brother were here when the band arrived, and next day they had a bit of a row, which nearly ended in bloodshed: their quarrel was, as all their quarrels seem to be, about the women. One of the Letter Carrier's party had taken to wife a sister of the young chief, and he had heard that they had killed her. The chief demanded payment in beads for his sister's death, which was refused, and something said that insulted him, when he drew his knife and walked boldly up to the others, who would soon have cut him to pieces but for our intervention. A few words of explanation from one Indian Hunter, who was acquainted with the merits of the case, brought matters to a better understanding—the woman had not been killed, but was drowned in crossing a river by her canoe upsetting, the Letter Carrier made the brother a present of a large Esquimaux spear, valued ten skins, and friendship was again restored. They remained here four days during which time a party of Youcon Indians arrived and we witnessed some of their great dances, and gymnastic games between the two parties; such a dancing and singing, leaping and wrestling, whooping and yelling, I have never before heard or seen.<sup>1</sup> This was always persevered in all night and although amusing to us at first, by being continued became very tiresome, we could not sleep at night for the noise they made, although requested by the men, I

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1. Here, and throughout Murray's account of the manners and customs of the Yukon Indians or Kutchin, comparison may be made with ch. xii. of Richardson's 'Arctic Searching Expedition.' Richardson drew largely upon Murray's journal and letters for his description of the Kutchin.

would not ask them to desist in case of giving offense: these people consider it the greatest treat they can give us, by carrying on their games in our camp, they said they had not been so happy for many years. We were heartily glad when they all left, and allowed us to enjoy peace and quietness for a few days. No more of the Rat Indians (as the men of the lakes are called at Peels River) arrived until the beginning of August, when six others came here, two of them belonging to 'Grand Blanc's' party. They had a few Martens and Beaver, and a large quantity of rat skins notwithstanding they all knew that no rats would be traded here; but these fellows had debts at Peels River which they intended to evade paying, and expected to receive payment for all they brought. I did not wish to encourage any of the Indians to leave Peels River, particularly those that were nearer to it than this, and refused to trade their Musquash, because there were more other furs in the country than I had goods to pay for. They were greatly displeased at this of course, and two of them flung about forty skins (480 rats) into the fire, but they repented of their rashness next day. I gave each of them a few measures of ammunition on credit, and told them when they arrived in the spring, if there were any goods left they would be paid for the rats but not otherwise, and since they had brought them so far, if we could not pay for them that we would take them to Lapiers House with the boat in summer where they might get them when they went to Peels River. I am not certain whether you will be pleased or displeased at my refusing to take rats here, as that trade is so much encouraged at Peels River, but you sent me to trade with the Indians on the Youcon and not those belonging to P. River, and 30% or taking Martens at their real value, 60% is surely better than 6%. I doubt the Hon. H.B. Co. would pocket very few dimes by the profit of musquash sent to England from the Youcon. The 'Letter Carrier' with nine of his followers again visited us towards the end of August, he brought some good furs and a respectable supply of dried meat, but very lean, he renewed his promise to make provisions for us, after he went to Peels River to pay his debt, and I am informed by letter from Mr. Perris<sup>1</sup> that he had been there and squared his account; he has always kept his promises,

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1. Probably Perry.

and none exert themselves more in trying to please us, in speaking in our favour. He is much respected by the whole band on whom we may have to depend much for provisions, and I thought it best to present him with the Chief's Coat, which he partly expected and with which he was mightily pleased. After being dressed he made an *eloquent* speech to his followers and the others assembled; it was partly in praise of us, but more particularly of himself. He said some of the 'Kootcha-Kootchin'<sup>1</sup> would not before believe that he was a great chief nor believe what he said respecting the White people, but they (the Indians) now saw that he was looked upon as the greatest chief of the country. The Whites had only one fine coat and they gave it to him before any other, but they would not loose by that, if he did not bring some good meat and geese in the spring, there were no Carribeux in the mountains and he would never again see a white man, etc., etc. He and his followers left us in high spirits and with professions of everlasting friendship.

It was early in August that a large party of 'Gens-du-fou' arrived. We had previously been informed of the sudden death of their chief, whom I met at Lapiers House, a young man who had great influence with the nation, and reports were circulated by the Indians that his death was imputed to our being here and also to the 'Kootcha-Kootchin'; before breakfast a large fleet of canoes was discried rounding the upper islands, there were no Indians here at the time, but we all knew it was the Gens-du-fou, and as our Indians had repeatedly cautioned us to be on our guard when this band arrived, it created no little fuss amongst the men, some of whom, and the oldest stagers, are the greatest cowards I ever saw, yet to hear them talk when alone, one would think them to be the bravest of the brave. All the canoes (twenty-five in number) soon appeared in sight gliding down along the bank on account of the swell

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1. Richardson has Kutchakutchin; and Dall, Kutchakutchin. Petroff says the Yunakhotana and the Kutchakutchin, forming together the tribe of Yukonikhotana, inhabit the banks of the Yukon river from Fort Yukon westward to Nulato. They are less nomadic in their habits than their eastern neighbours, but are by no means numerous. Their dwellings are built of logs and roofed with bark, and their summer garments are of tanned moose and reindeer skins, while those for winter use are made of reindeer, wolf and fox skins. Their tribal name signifies 'men of the Yukon.'



in the river, but there was no noise nor singing as with the other, they landed a little above our encampment assembled in silence on the bank: I went forward and presented each with the usual token of friendship, a small piece of tobacco, and expressed my happiness at seeing them here. As soon as I had stepped to the one side, they started off at full race all in a body to the lower end of the encampment and back again to their landing place, shouting and whooping in a peculiar manner; they immediately formed into a half circle and danced with great vigour for a few minutes, keeping time with their outlandish songs. They had a very extraordinary and wild appearance with their greasy dresses covered with beads and brass trinkets, and long cloated hair fluttering in the breeze. These fellows had pipes of their own, pipes made of tin or sheet iron traded from the Russians, more than half of them had brought nothing to trade, and the others had comparatively little—six bear skins, a few badly dressed but otherwise good martens, some moose and cariboux skins, some pieces of fresh meat, and upwards of 100 geese killed with their arrows while ascending the river. They were settled with easier than I expected but occupying most of the day as everything had to be explained to them: They seemed to be generally satisfied with our prices, but made great objections to our powder measure as being too small, that their Whites (the Russians) gave them a much larger quantity. I had some long talk with them in the evening, the greater part of which was concerning their trade with the Russians on the coast, of whom I did not speak *very favourably*, and explained to them the superiority of our goods and our juster mode of trading, and said all I could think of to encourage them to come here with their furs and provisions. I expressed great sorrow at the death of their chief, and presented his brother, who appeared to take the lead, with a foot of tobacco to smoke on the grass; the mark of respect to the *illustrious deceased* seemed to make a favourable impression on them all, and the chief's brother said he now looked upon us as his friends, but some of them spoke differently to the Indians next day. After breakfast of the following day when the men were sent to their work, several of the Gens-du-fou became very troublesome and impertinent, handling and asking for everything they saw—one wished to

have the carpenters edge, another the tracking line of the boat, and so on, and although they were told not to enter the store two of them stepped over the small barricade while my back was turned, and were examining the loaded guns in my tent, they were again told to go out, which on their refusing to do, I shoved one of them out by the shoulders, and the other followed of his own accord in double quick time. They then demanded guns, beads and axes on credit to be paid for in the fall; this I refused telling them that we had few of these articles this year, but that we never gave credit to any one unless we knew them well. They said, the Russians were once the same, they would not give them what they wanted, but they (the Indians) killed a number of their people and pillaged one of their Forts on the coast, and ever since that they had been refused nothing. I had before heard of their murdering some Russians at a small outpost but took their repeating the story here as a rather bold threat. They were answered that if they attempted that here they would find themselves greatly mistaken, that we were a different people from the Russians and not so easily frightened, we were always prepared against enemies, we did not come here without guns to defend ourselves, and we did not mean to give away our goods for nothing, but they would be well paid for what they brought, and if they came as friends they would be always well treated. After some more quibbling they professed to be our friends, still maintaining that they could trade cheaper in several things from the Russians than from us. Two of this party belonged to a band called 'Naheiy'<sup>1</sup> who inhabited the country about the source of Grand River,<sup>2</sup> one of the others belonged to the upper band of 'Gens-du-fou,' he had been at the Peely<sup>3</sup> and gave me a very clear description of the upper part of this river and the adjacent country. The day was wound up as usual with a great dance in which the chief brother did not join, while the others danced

1. Dall's Nehannees. According to Petroff, the Nehannees, Tutchone-kutchin, and other groups living on the upper Yukon river, between the boundary and Fort Yukon, are members of the Han-kutchin tribe. They are, he says, known to the traders as *gens des faux*. Dawson says the Hudson's Bay Company's people applied the name Nahanie or Nahaunie to a group of tribes, on the upper Yukon.

2. This is evidently the same river which Murray elsewhere calls Gravel. Probably 'Grand' is an error in transcription of the original manuscript.

3. Peely, i.e., Pelly river.

and sung he retired to a distance and bewailed most pitifully the death of his brother. After the men had retired to their cabins, the chief brother, noticing that the Interpreter and I were on guard, came forward and told us to go to sleep, some of his young men, he said, had not spoken well, but they meant us no harm, they were our friends and he would make them all sleep with him at a distance from us. He was told that we had no apprehension of danger from them, but it was a custom of ours to keep watch always at night until we had our Fort completed. They left next morning in peace and quietness, with promises to return in the fall if they were successful in hunting, but if not, they might not again see us until spring, when they returned from the mountains. Several stragglers of this party came in between [then?] and fall, with fresh meat and deer skins, which they generally traded for ammunition and tobacco, but we found them always more troublesome and difficult to please than the Indians of this place. The only other strangers, except one of the Russian hunters, that came here in the fall, were four men of the 'Ney-et-se-Kootchin,'<sup>1</sup> a band of about forty men, whose country is to the north of this near to the polar sea, they have never seen either the Russians or our people. These four arrived in company with two Indians of the upper band, one of them had a gun and what little meat they brought was given for ammunition. They said most of their people would likely visit us in the spring on the last snow. They were easily settled with and pleased with whatever was offered them.

These are some of the principal arrivals during summer and fall, and enough to show you the way we were received by the several bands, and the way they were treated by us. Very few days passed without some Indians coming in, and *any amount* of talking had to be *done*. One and all were treated with uniform kindness and respect, at same time teaching them to respect us, keeping them always in their own place, and never allowing the men to use any liberties with them nor make any bargains whatever with them without permission. Some of the men, particularly the Canadians, were greatly displeased at the discipline I so rigidly enforced, having been accustomed at

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1. Richardson's Neyetsè-kutchi, and Natsit-kutchin of Petroff. Murray elsewhere calls them *gens de large*. See previous note.

Peels River while *old Lapiers*<sup>1</sup> was in command to have too much of their own way and trade geese and meat from the Indians whenever they chose, this was strictly forbidden here. There is nothing that spoils Indians so much as allowing them to trade with the men, or become too familiar with them. The men had no occasion to trade anything; never in the Indians country were people better fed than here during summer and fall; mostly fish and dried meat, nets were always set in the river, and now and then we had a meal of fish, and often pemmican and flour when the dry meat was bad, and the men had hard work—but the more we have the more we desire, an adage peculiarly adapted to the voyageurs of this country, they had been accustomed to so good fare during summer, that latterly they became very nice, and turned up their noses at dry meat that a year ago at Peels River would have been considered a God send.

Privations are often endured in establishing a new country, of which we have had several salutary lessons in this district, the first year at Peels River and the west branch, *perhaps* at the present day, although little was known of this country, I came here with no other idea than that we would be ably provided for. The trading of furs was the object of our being sent here, and has received a due share of attention, but my energies for the first season were more particularly directed to the procuring of provision which if properly set agoing, and the Indians encouraged at first requires less trouble in after years.

Both branches of the trade were as prosperous as I expected, or could almost have desired with the means at my command, and I assure you, that when 'gloomy winter' showed his heavy face, it was a source of great consolation and thankfulness when I looked into the well filled store, to know that there need be *no hungry bellies* at the Youcon.

Immediately after our arrival the fishing was commenced, and nets set regularly in the river but with little advantage until the beginning of September when the trout began to ascend, but they lasted only about three weeks, during which time the labours of two men and an Indian, with thirteen nets, produced 1,380 fish. Our nets were made in good time, and

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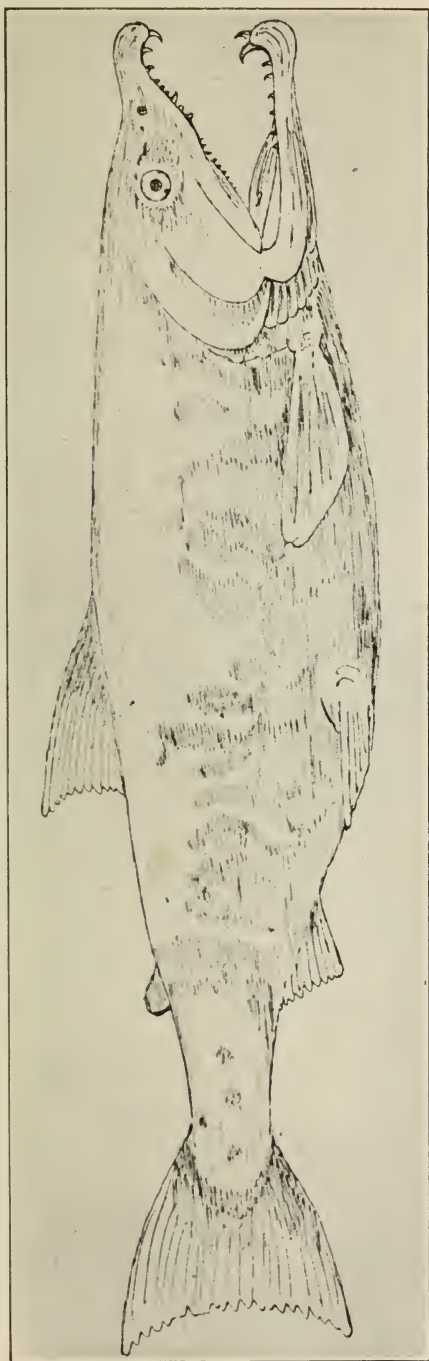
1. Old Lapiers, or Lapierre, after whom Lapierre House was named. He is mentioned in some of John Bell's unpublished letters.



was generally the occupation of the invalids, for it was seldom but some of the men were cut and lamed. A Peels River Indian who accompanied us from Lapiers House was engaged to assist the fisherman, and Indians paid to show the different lakes around. The first trial was in a large lake to the south-west of this, but with no success; they then went to a chain of small lakes or rather a deep river<sup>1</sup> a day's journey farther on, where the Indians make dried fish in summer. They remained there until the water fell too low, 600 large white fish were caught and placed 'en cache,' but on seeking for them in fall they were found to be eaten by the wolverines. After the river fishing was at an end some small lakes to the N. West (a day's journey from this) were tried, and 460 large and excellent fish were taken which we got home in safety by the dog trains. When winter set in we had over 1,800 fish in store, which has been of great assistance, but we may not always be so well supplied with other provisions, and I hope, if you send me a good fisherman, to have a larger stock next fall, as the lakes are now better known. The trout taken in the river are, I don't know exactly what. They are not fresh water trout, neither are they salmon trout, although they belong more to the latter species. They make their appearance in August, but are not plentiful until the beginning of September, when they ascend the river in immense shoals; when they first make their appearance they are tolerable eating, have a silvery tinge on the back and upper part of their sides, the belly is of a dark brown and green, and the lower part of the sides blue; but before they disappear towards the end of September, they lose their bright color, are soft and lean, and of a strong rancid taste. The men get tired of them in a few days if served out constantly for rations. They have a large head and mouth, the upper and under jaws are much crooked inward and teeth like the fangs of a rattlesnake, they are altogether a very ugly and ferocious looking fish; they weigh from 4 to 7 lbs. each. I took a drawing of a large fellow in the fall and now copy it to show you what sort of 'critters' are in the waters of the Youcon. There is another and smaller kind without teeth, a smaller head and still more crooked snout, they are of a transparent scarlet color, the flesh is red like the salmon and similar to it in taste and

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1. Probably Birch or Discovery creek.



The King Salmon.



quality; only a few of this latter sort are taken, and then only at the last of the season. The real salmon also ascend this river, and are the first to make their appearance, one only (and a small one) was taken in our nets, but the Indians kill a number every year by barring the smaller channels of the river and setting willow baskets constructed for the purpose. Several large salmon, dried, were traded from the Indians, a piece of one I sent you in winter which I hope you received, from the appearance of them when dried I would suppose them to weigh from 15 to 20 lbs., some very large ones are said to be sometimes caught by the Indians. There are several kinds of white fish here as elsewhere, but we have them generally larger than common, some of them weighing  $6\frac{1}{2}$  and 7 lbs. Those taken in the lakes are large and of a superior quality, three are sufficient for a man's daily allowance, the river trout are dealt out in the same way. Pike are plentiful in both lakes and river. Inconnu and Loche are found here the same as in the McKenzie. The salmon and trout are said by the Indians to be better lower down the river, and far up they are very lean and often found dead on the beach, which may be the effect of their long journey from the sea. They do not descend the river until the ice begins to set fast, but then follow the main channels and very few are taken. So much for the *Fishes*.<sup>1</sup>

The building and other work was pushed forward as quickly as possible, but the dwelling house was not made habitable until the end of August when we all removed into it, appropriating two rooms for the goods, furs, and provisions. We got into the house just before the cold weather commenced, and although the rooms were in an unfinished state we felt very comfortable after being so long in the open air.

The store was finished in October 25th, that is the walls and roof, and we had much difficulty in covering it from the

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1. Murray's 'ferocious looking fish' with 'teeth like the fangs of a rattlesnake,' is the King salmon (*Oncorhynchus chonicha*); the 'smaller kind, without teeth, a smaller head and still more crooked snout,' is probably the Humpback or Dog salmon (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*); and his 'real salmon' is, as far as one can judge, the Red salmon (*Oncorhynchus nerka*). The inconnu (*Stenodus mackenzii*) is first mentioned by Mackenzie in his 'Voyages.' The loche is *Lota maculosa*, variously known as the methy, loche, ling, maria, losh and burbot. All these fish are found in the Yukon, and are minutely described in Edward W. Nelson's 'Report upon Natural History Collections made in Alaska, 1877-1881.'



bark being too dry and brittle, the most part of the roof was made water tight, but it will again require to be covered on our return from Lapiers House.

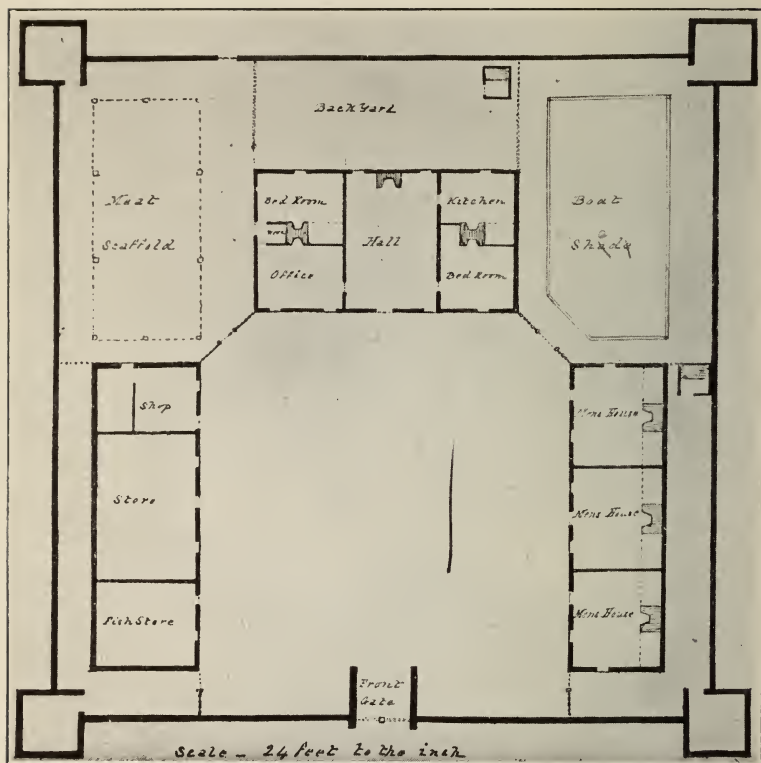
The dwelling house and store was all the building that could be completed, and although it might sound to you, that little work was done for the time and number of hands, still if you saw it you would think otherwise. Had we squatted down in the first point of a good timber, and begun a fort like some of your outposts, it might have been completed in the same time, but we are far from large timber, and building on a more extensive scale than usual, both house and store are substantial and well finished work. The other buildings and pickets will be the same and everything carried out in conformity with the plan drawn out, and when the Fort is finished, as I hope it will be next fall, I calculate on it being the best and strongest (not excepting Fort Simpson) between Red River and the polar sea; it will occupy some time and require more labour, but a good fort may be needed here before many years. The dwelling house is 46 x 26 feet containing five compartments—a hall in the centre, an office or sitting room and a bed room in one end, assistants room, and kitchen in the other. It is built of well squared 8 inch pine<sup>1</sup> logs, the partitions are also of squared and closely jointed logs, ball proof, and as we had no pickets around in the first season, small loop holes were made on each side of the hall neatly fitted with blocks of wood which can be opened at pleasure from the rooms, and used for musketry in case the Indians should attempt to play us the same trick they did to Mr. Campbell and his party at Duses Lake.<sup>2</sup> The store is only 40 feet in length at present, but an addition of 16 feet is to (be) made next season for a fish store, etc. The men's houses will be the same length 56 feet containing three rooms, one of which is intended for a carpenter's shop, etc.

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1. Murray's 'pine' must have been spruce, as pine does not grow in this locality.

2. Dease lake. In Robert Campbell's own narrative he says, 'On returning to Dease's lake, we passed a winter of constant danger from the savage Russian Indians and of much suffering from starvation. We were dependent for subsistence on what animals we could catch, and, failing that, on 'tripe de roche.' We were at one time reduced to such dire straits that we were obliged to eat our parchment windows, and our last meal before abandoning Dease's lake, on 8th May, 1839, consisted of the lacing of our snowshoes.'





Plan of Fort Yukon.

A house or shed capable of containing two boats is to be erected at the end of the men's houses and a meat scaffold as at Fort Simpson at the end of the store. The pickets will not be pointed *poles* nor *slabs*, but good sized trees dispossessed of their bark and squared on two sides to fit closely and  $14\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height above ground, 3 feet under ground, making a solid wall of 9 or 10 inches at the bottom and 6 or 7 inches at the top, secured together by being morticed into a solid frame along the top, and the same in the foundation. The bastions will be made as strong as possible, roomy and convenient. When all this is finished, the Russians may advance when they d——d please.

Although the building was finished for the first season, there was no want of work both in and out of doors: The houses had to be plastered and innumerable little jobs done before they were made comfortable for the winter. Roots for boat timber had to be found and dug up before the ground was frozen, saw logs cut and brought from the islands before the river set fast, birch wood, for meat and wood sleds and snow shoes to be brought from a great distance, fire wood to be cut, our fish to be brought home, and a thousand other things which kept us all constantly employed. Indians continued to arrive with both furs and provisions, more furs than I could pay for with the goods they wanted, but not so much meat as I expected, a large party of Indians had been at war with another band (the people of the Shade)<sup>1</sup> down the river, and of course had little time to make provision. On their return a number of furs<sup>2</sup> .....and I had much difficulty in settling with them. They did not object to our prices, but all demanded beads, the few remaining lbs. were divided amongst them, and one of the guns; when it was known that we had no more beads their furs were kept back, some of them were left with us to be kept till next year and paid for in beads, but I had quite enough of this mode of trading at Peels River. They were told that we would take care of their furs until next year, and trade with them only when the goods arrived. I however promised that we would have more beads next season, and advised all those who had furs in *cache* not to

1. Richardson's Testsè-kutchi, 'people of the shade' or 'shelter.'

2. Several words missing here in manuscript.



dispose of them elsewhere. With this party was an Indian of the 'People of the Butes,'<sup>1</sup> who had been Fort Hunter to the Russians, he brought nothing with him, but came, I suppose, out of curiosity. The Russians had again been on this river, at their former rendezvous about the same time or perhaps a little after we arrived; I heard this in August, and was put out of suspense at the time of being much troubled with them that season. They brought plenty of beads and took away a great many furs. Here it is very different, furs were brought in and could not be traded, and it was a vexatious thing to see them taken back for want of goods. The box of beads were gone, the box of guns ditto, except two guns kept for the defence of the place, the roll of tobacco was on its last legs, and our shop, except cloth and ammunition nearly empty. The 'Gens-du-fou,' distant Rat Indians, and one of the bands from below had all promised to come here in spring, and having nothing to settle with them, I determined on sending to Peels River for a roll of tobacco and some knives to be taken from the year's outfit, as dogs had to be sent at all events to bring the boat rails and other articles indispensable for our spring operations. The men with five dogs and two sleds were dispatched for Lapiers House on November 21st in good time for the letters to reach Peels River before the departure of the usual winter packet. An Indian acquainted with the country was engaged to accompany them and promised if the weather was favourable to take them to Lapiers House in fourteen days. The men and dogs were provisioned for fifteen days, and the men received a little ammunition in case of accident or being detained by the weather. The men were eighteen days on the winter trip to Lapiers House, and nineteen in returning with their loads. On going up they were delayed one day on account of the weather, but I have since learned did not hurry themselves, as the Indian who accompanied them supplied them

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1. Richardson's Tanna-kutchi, or 'people of the bluffs;' Petroff's Tennankutchin (Mountain men), or Tennan-tnu-kokhtana (Mountain River men), occupying the mountainous basin of the Tennanah river, an affluent of the lower Yukon. The Tanana, it is now spelled, literally Tenan-na or Tenan river, said to mean River of the mountain men. It was known to the men of the Hudson's Bay Company as Gens des Buttes river. According to Petroff, it is the most important among tributaries of the Yukon in size and beauty. It empties into the main river about thirty miles below the Ramparts, say 290 miles below Fort Yukon.

well with fresh meat, they had been complaining while at Lapiers House of my stinting them with provisions, but if they could come down with loaded trains in 19 days, they could scarcely go up light in 15.

Not many days after the packet was sent off (on November 27) I received very unpleasant news, and had it been in my power, would have sent off another letter to inform you of it at the time, but no more men could be spared, nor were prepared to undertake the journey so as to reach Lapiers House in time. The young chief arrived in the evening and informed us of the arrival of two Indians from the lower bands with men from the Russians. They had been sent to the Indians here with messages from the Russians who were passing the winter at the mouth of the river they descended, had a large stock of goods with them, were trading at much lower prices than formerly, and had better goods than us. The Russians were trying to incite the Indians here against us by telling them, that it was on account of our being in their country that so many of them had died in summer, that we were bad people, etc., and inviting the Indians to go to them with their sick friends as they had medicines to cure all diseases, that they were sorry they had not been able to keep their promise with the Indians here and visit their country in summer, they had been unfortunate in having necessary boats built, but next summer they would meet them farther up the river with plenty of goods. The Russians had taken the most effective plan to work upon the credulity of the Indians here, and I was greatly mortified to hear from the young chief that some of his followers believed what they had said and intended to go down with their furs by the first open water. I sent for one of these Russian Indians who was remaining with the lower band and heard a repetition of the whole story before several other Indians.

I had a long talk with them in presence of the stranger, and took good care to give the Russians a 'lick back' in their own coin. I explained particularly the motives that induced our opponents to send these messages, the cause of their lowering their prices, and succeeded in persuading them of the absurdity of the idea of our causing the death of their people, instead of that we were their best friends, and had brought medicines to

keep them from dying, etc. etc. etc., as for taking their furs below in spring they were their own masters, and could dispose of them to the Russians if they chose, but if they did so they would be sorry for it afterwards, assuring them that more goods would be brought here in summer. The Indians present seemed willing enough to hold on until next season, still a few days afterwards, a lot of beaver were sold to the Russians Indians for fancy beads, an article they could not procure from us and which they value above everything else.

When I wrote you in November, I had no idea of being troubled with the Russians until the following summer, but here they were, wintering farther down on the same river, with plenty of goods, and trading at prices far below our tariff, and endeavouring to set our own Indians against us; the receipt of this intelligence was very disheartening to me. I have been accustomed to the *strongest kind* of opposition while in the south, and would like nothing better, as I love a row, than to have it again, but I should wish also to have the means of competing.

But here we are far across the Frontier, and with little but promises to give the Indians. But before saying much on this subject, and having partially narrated our doings until the end of November, I may as well bring you to the end of the year. The month of December passed off more slowly than any other since our arrival, we had fewer hands, but I need not enumerate the work done. We saw no Indians except those in our immediate neighbourhood, who brought in now and then some rabbits, and sometimes a few lynx skins, and we paid in ammunition and tobacco. The rabbit of this country are fully larger than about Fort Simpson, and the quantity we received sufficient for rations from three to five days in the week throughout winter. Christmas and the 1st of January were, as in other parts of the country, kept as holidays, and passed off quietly and respectably enough, though with myself about as dull a new year as I ever spent, my usual high spirits being brought to a very low ebb, by the recent intelligence received of the Russians.

The first time the Russians came to this river, was the year before Mr. Bell was here, and ever since then (for the last four years) they have come regularly during summer with a boat,



and traded with several of the lower bands. Of the first two years, little is known by the Indians here, of their third visit I have already informed you of all I know, their anxiety to procure dogs from the natives, and giving so high prices for them, convinced me at the time I heard of it, of their determination to extend their trade on the Youcon. Last summer they arrived as usual at the same place, the mouth of a large river they descended, which falls into the Youcon, perhaps, by the windings of the river, 350 miles below this.<sup>1</sup> They intended to have brought two boats, and proceeded farther up the river, not only to trade with the Indians, but to explore the river to its source. They had not been able to get the necessary boats built, but promised to be better prepared next (this) summer. The boat they had was almost the same size as ours, and made of, which our Indians informant describes as *dressed parchment*, similar to the men's carrying straps which he saw here. Last summer they brought more goods than formerly, principally beads, common and fancy, white, red, and several shades of blue. The common white beads were usually traded higher than with us, of the blue beads a little larger than a garden pea, only *ten* were given for a beaver skin, except kettles, guns, and powder, every other article was higher than with us. Tobacco and snuff were traded very high, also the small shells, some of which you sent me from Ft. Simpson, but I am not aware of their proper name,<sup>2</sup> these are traded in this country 6 and 8 for a beaver or three martens, a box of these shells here

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1. The Russian post of Nulato stood on the north bank of the Yukon, a few miles below the mouth of the Koyukuk, and about 400 miles from the mouth of the main river. The 'large river' here referred to is evidently the same which Murray elsewhere calls Russian river, and which is mentioned under that name in Sir John Richardson's 'Arctic Searching Expedition.' Murray's confusion of the lower Yukon and the Koyukuk will be dealt with in a later note. His letter to Richardson, quoted in the introduction, makes it clear that he afterward discovered his own error as to the course and mouth of the Yukon.

2. Dentalium and Arenicola shells. 'The dentalium,' says Petroff, 'was an ornament much prized by men and women. This shell did not exist in the Russian possessions, but was imported from the British colonies north of the Columbia river. . . . At the time of Davidof's visit to Kadiak, in 1802, the price of one pair of these shells was a whole parka of squirrel skins. Davidof relates a tradition of the Kaniagmute to the effect that in the country of the Thlinket, far to the southward, there was a lake from which the dentalium or hyqua shell was obtained, the mollusks being fed with the bodies of slaves thrown into the water, a story evidently invented by the Thlinket to enhance the price of this commodity, of which they had a quantity.'



would be worth over *two thousand pounds*. Besides the above mentioned articles, the Russians bring to this country blankets, capots, cloth, (of the latter two almost none are traded) powder horns, knives, fire steels, files, iron hoops for arrow heads, iron pipes, common arm bands, awls, rings, and small brass coins similar to our old farthing, with which the Indian women fringe their dresses, they bring no regular axes, only a flat piece of steel shaped something like a plane iron, which the Indians fasten to a crooked stick with battiche, and use it as we would an adze, they say, and very likely have, other articles which I have not seen. They have both fine and common guns, but our guns are always preferred to theirs; formerly they brought only sheet iron kettles but last summer I am told they had copper kettles the same as ours. The Indians here being at war, last summer, with the lower bands, prevented any intercourse between them, and was the cause of our not hearing sooner, than in November, of these particulars. It seems the Russians had left or were about to leave on their return, when they heard of our arrival here; they immediately set about building a house; this finished, one or two men were left with the remaining goods, while the others returned to the portage with the boat, and as they had plenty of goods in winter, very probably some more were sent in the fall. Their prices were lowered at once, kettles, knocked down from twenty to ten skins each, common guns to ten skins, above a pint of powder given for a measure, and beads and other things, above a half cheaper, and cloth which they cannot dispose of, given for nothing. The *master* himself is the person that remains below in charge of the house, it was he that sent the rascally message to our Indians, and if he ventures up this length in summer, as he has promised, I think it very probable that he will get his head broken for his trouble, but they are the last people I wish to see here, as should they come we will certainly get into a scrape. I have told the Indians here, that, after our building is finished, perhaps next fall, we will go down the river to where the Russians are, and will likely build another Fort there. I circulated this report merely that it might reach the Russians, and perhaps be the means of preventing them from coming farther up the river for the present. Their means of communication with the coast is merely as I informed you last spring, but with

a portage, instead of the rivers being connected by a lake. I have seen two Indians who were at the Fort in the coast and acquainted with the inland route, I had them to describe it to me and chalk it down on the floor. The river they ascend from the coast must as far as I can judge fall into Norton Sound, or perhaps Kotzebue's Sound, but I think the former, as there were two large vessels at anchor while the Indians were there, and I am not aware that ships are sent regularly through Behring Strait. At the mouth of this river is a large Fort, a short distance above there are strong rapids, and farther up is a small trading Fort which has been established for many years, above it are falls and farther on mountains, on the other side of which passes the river that falls into the Youcon. They trade their goods across the portage in winter with dogs, and have a house on this side, from which they descend to the Youcon with a boat in summer; this river must flow in a north east direction, as is described as being larger than Porcupine River (that, we descended). Two or three years since a boat came down another river (but not so far as its mouth) that joins the Youcon a great distance above this, this river flows from the south, is very deep and with little current. The Indians were not acquainted with its course but described distinctly enough where it joined the Youcon, a large lake where one of its branches takes its rise. The Russians have also been on the head waters of this great river, not so far down as the forks of the Lewis and Pelly but below the 'Great Lake' the place I have marked as shown by the Gens du fou, but I am not aware that they come there regularly.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Russian trading establishments and explorations on the Yukon have already been discussed in the introduction. The river falling into Norton Sound or Kotzebue Sound, as Murray supposed, was evidently the Kuskokvim, which, however, empties much farther south. The description fits the Kuskokvim. The small trading fort would be Kolmakof Redoubt, an old Russian trading post, about 200 miles above the mouth of the Kuskokvim. The first establishment here was built by Ivan Simonson Lukeen in 1832. It was partially destroyed by the Indians in 1841, and rebuilt by Alexander Kolmakof. The mountains referred to are the Kuskokvim range, and the river beyond, the Tanana, Murray's River of the Mountain Men. The portage from the Kuskokvim to the Yukon is by a series of small lakes and streams, at the point where the two rivers most nearly approach each other. No large Russian fort ever existed at the mouth of the Kuskokvim, but what Murray heard of from the Indians was probably Alexandrovsk, at the mouth of the Nushagak, built under the orders of Alexander Baranof in 1818 or 1819. It is more difficult to explain Murray's references to Russians on the upper Yukon

This is all I have been able to ascertain respecting the Russians trading on the Youcon, and quite enough to show that it is well known to them. They discovered it here, that is *below*, a year before Mr. Bell, and very probably were also ahead of Mr. Campbell on its upper branches, of their trade there I know little, but below this, from what the Indians say, they have carried off an immense quantity of valuable peltries.

I will now attempt to give you a short account of this great north western valley and its inhabitants. Since my arrival here and also while at Peels River, it was my study to obtain from the different bands of Indians a description of their respective lands and rivers, and by questioning so many and comparing the several statements, I have been able to form some idea of the course of the Youcon and other rivers, of which hitherto very little was known, and to make it more plain, I have drawn out a sort of *map*,<sup>1</sup> which you can lay before you while you peruse the following brief but imperfect account. The country between this and Peels River I have partly described as far as my own observations went: the courses of Rat and Porcupine

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waters. A reference to the accompanying map—much of the data for which Richardson evidently got from Murray—shows the confusion that then reigned as to the relative positions, directions, &c., of the Liard, Lewes, Pelly and Frances rivers. The 'Great Lake' may have been simply the Pacific, or one of the great channels along the coast, confused in Indian reports. The Russians may have ascended the Stikine, and portaged over to Dease lake, though this latter is hardly probable. It may or may not be significant that the Indian name for Dease lake is Too-tsho, 'Big Lake,' and Dease river, Too-tsho-tooa, 'Big Lake River.' Teslin lake would, however, more accurately meet Murray's description. Richardson shows both 'Great lake' and 'Russian Rendezvous' on his map, and says in his narrative: 'The Lewis flows from a large sheet of water, lying within the English boundary, but named the Russian lake, because Mr. Roderick (*sic*) Campbell . . . met there a party of Russian traders.' In Simpson's 'Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Coast of America' (pp. 172-3), it is said that Campbell 'met on the banks of a river called the Stikine . . . a great concourse of Nahanie Indians, assembled round a party of Russians. The latter ascend the river in boats to a cataract far within the British lines . . . There were a number of men, commanded by four ragged, drunken officers, who spoke a few broken words of English.' This account is so circumstantial, and evidently obtained from Campbell himself, that one is at least safe in assuming that the Russians ascended the Stikine, whatever or wherever the Great Lake may have been.

1. This map has unfortunately disappeared. It is probable, however, that we have the substance of it, with Murray's later corrections as to the course of the Yukon, in the map accompanying Richardson's 'Arctic Searching Expedition.' On this map will be found many of the names applied by Murray to rivers, lakes and mountains in the Yukon country. A reduced tracing of a portion of this map accompanies this journal.





The course of the Yukon and Porcupine Rivers is laid down from information furnished to Richardson by Alexander H. Murray.





Rivers I cannot lay down accurately in so small a scale, unprovided as I am with instruments of any description suited for the purpose. Lapiers House is, as will be seen, considerably to the south of Peels River Fort. Rat River is but a small and narrow stream, and of a most tortuous course, turning and winding every few hundred yards, but tending to the west south west until it joins Porcupine River which takes its rise far to the south amongst the same range of mountains that give rise to Peels River, from the mouth of Rat River it flows to the north and north west for a great distance, and at one point is a few miles farther to the north than Peels River Fort, it then keeps nearly west south west, crosses the boundary line about Latitude 67, and falls into the Youcon at Latitude 66, 15', and in Longitude say *perhaps* 147 20.<sup>1</sup> My log makes us to be considerably to the south of where we actually are, which may partly be accounted for by the variation of the compas, which I could only ascertain once between (here) and Lapiers House. The compas varies 40 degrees east at this place, and 48 degrees at Peels River Fort, from my unavoidably imperfect mode of ascertaining the distances I can only *guess* at the Longitude, but the Latitude I have ascertained by several observations made with a rude *astrolabe*<sup>2</sup> of my own construction, and for the matter of a minute or two either way it is immaterial.

I have seen very little of the Youcon, only a few miles above and below where we are, and it may appear absurd my attempting to show its course on a chart, it is merely my own idea from the descriptions and drawings of the Indians; I had all parts of the river chalked out on the floor by the Indians, and in summer a large bed of sand was their drawing board,<sup>3</sup> these I always copied at the time, and though the same places were described and sketched by different Indians, they agreed pretty nearly in the general features of the river. In the first place the Youcon and the Pelly are one and the same. Two Indians of the *upper*

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1. The Porcupine crosses the boundary in 67° 25' 05", according to Mr. C. A. Schott of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey; and falls into the Yukon about 66° 33' 47", and long. 145° 17' 47", this being the astronomic position of Fort Yukon as reported by Capt. Raymond in his Reconnaissance of the Yukon, 1869.

2. See Slafter's interesting note on the Astrolabe, in the Prince Society translation of Champlain, III, 66.

3. Mackenzie made use of the same expedient, in his expedition to the Arctic. See his Voyages, under date July 27, 1789.

'Gens du fou' who had been at the Pelly were here in summer, and with them another Indian belonging to the 'Men of the Forks' (a band near to the forks of the Lewis and Pelly) who had two years before been at the Great Lake the principal source of the river; they described the Forks of the Lewis and Pelly where Mr. Campbell had been, the Lewis River and the house on the west side of the mountains near Frances Lake where some of their people had traded deer skins.<sup>1</sup> To fix a point for the forks of the Lewis and Pelly, I have marked where I conceive, from a perusal of some of Mr. Campbell's documents while at Fort Simpson, Frances Lake to be situated. The *Pelly*, alias the *Youcon*, alias the Colville,<sup>2</sup> takes its rise from a large lake to the south of the forks of the Lewis and Pelly and it is most probable, if it is near where I have placed it, that Frances River is one of its principal feeders. Nothing was known of the extent of the 'Great Lake' (as it is called) by the Indian, he had only been there, and made mention of the Russians having come a short distance down the river from the Lake and traded with a band of Indians at the place I have marked *Russian Boundary*. The course of the river from the Pelly downwards as drawn by the Indians is to the north west, and at one place passes between high rocks or ramparts from which the Indians there derive their name. The next river of any importance is 'Red Island River' which joins it from the north west,<sup>3</sup> there is only one mountain between its source and that of Peels River, therefore Peels River does not take its rise from near Mount Traffic as has been supposed. The river to the north of Frances Lake that is known to flow in a north west direction, must therefore be, although it may take a circuitous route, the Lewis,<sup>4</sup> as there is not extent of country enough in

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1. Campbell's Glenlyon House, built in 1840, and afterwards known as Frances Lake House or Fort Frances.

2. As already stated, this serious error was afterward corrected by Murray.

3. Probably Stewart river, whose headquarters approach those of Peel river. The direction is, of course, entirely wrong. No stream rising near the source or headwaters of Peel river could join the Yukon from the northwest.

4. Here and elsewhere in Murray's narrative, his references to the Lewes and the Pelly must be transposed. He has confused the two streams. His Lewes is the Pelly, and his Pelly the Lewes. Richardson's map makes same error. The lake which Murray mentions as the source of the Pelly (Lewes), is doubtless Teslin lake. Both narrative and map give Frances river as connected with the Pelly (Lewes) by the Great

any direction to create so large a body of water as the Lewis is described to be. Between the Lewis and Red Island River is a flat and barren prairie or desert which the Indians take four days to traverse on foot, during summer they have to carry water for the journey as none is to be found when they usually make the *portage*. Farther down on the *Youcon*, another river of considerable size enters from the east,<sup>1</sup> and below that is the deep river with little current on which the Russians made their appearance with a boat and traded with the Indians, one of its branches, as already described, comes from a large lake, and no great distance from that another river flows in the opposite direction, which I take to be *Comptrollers River*.<sup>2</sup> The *Youcon* flows on through the extensive country of the *Gens du fou* to the north west, making several large turns and being joined by several streams from the mountains on each side, it may probably cross the boundary about Latitude 64, or just as likely farther to the north.<sup>3</sup> About sixty or seventy miles above *this place*, it passes a ridge of high mountains, where are steep rocky banks, these are called the 'Little Ramparts,'<sup>4</sup> from that to where we are, it runs through a low and flat country, continuing in the same direction and making fewer bends than before, three miles below this it is joined by Porcupine River, proceeding onwards to the north west for a good distance it again cuts its way through the same range of mountains it passed above.<sup>5</sup> Below they are known as the 'Big Beaver Mountains,'<sup>6</sup> it then takes a 'Grand de tour' to the north, and must run nearly north until its confluence into the sea. About *two days' journey* from the Big Beaver Mountains its waters are increased by the

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Lake (Teslin). This is, of course, altogether wrong, Frances river forming the upper waters of the Liard. Murray's Frances river would seem to be the Stikine, warped out of position by confused Indian reports.

1. Klondike river, probably.

2. That is, the river flowing into Comptroller's Bay, now known as Copper river. The river Murray had in mind may, however, have been the Chilkat.

3. The Yukon crosses the international boundary, according to C. A. Schott, in 64° 40' 51".

4. Lieut. Schwatka describes the Upper Ramparts of the Yukon as beginning at Old Fort Selkirk (built by Robert Campbell, in 1848, at the confluence of the Pelly and Lewes) and extending downstream some 400 miles.

5. The Lower Ramparts, beginning a little above the mouth of Tanana river and extending up the Yukon 100 miles.

6. Tanana hills. These appear as the Big Beaver mountains on Richardson's map.



River of the Mountain Men,<sup>1</sup> a large body of water. It enters from the south and runs nearly parallel with the Youcon; this river is famed for its abundance of Beaver. Next comes what I have marked Russian River, as being that they descended in the summer, which I have particularly described. At the mouth of this river the Russians have wintered and are now established.<sup>2</sup> Below that, very little is known by the Indians here, I have only seen one man, who in former years had been to trade with the Esquimaux, you have it nearly as I had it from him, with another river to the east and making a large bend to the east before it falls into the polar sea, where it assumes its modern name of Colvile. The Indians here have very little idea of courses, but show distinctly enough the windings of the river and where other rivers join it. Had I not known where the *Colvile* was, and gone by their account, I should have placed the mouth of the Youcon much farther to the west, and at a greater distance from us than it possibly can be. The river opposite this is about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles broad, but so thickly studded with islands, that in one body it would be much narrower, the current is much stronger than that of the McKenzie, the water generally not so deep, but difficult to navigate from the numerous battures, shoals, and channels. The banks on each side are low, of a sandy soil, and easily cut away by high water, and to ascend the river by a boat, except with a sail and strong aft wind, is a most laborious and tedious business. The lands on each side, *here*, is comparatively low, with innumerable small lakes and swamps many of which have the appearance of being the former channels of the river. Large islands are now being swept away, while new battures appear to be forming, there are not so many islands further down, but the river is nearly of the

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1. Tanana river, which joins the Yukon from the southeast about long. 152°. As already mentioned, this native name is said to mean River of the Mountain Men.

2. Nulato, below mouth of Koyukuk river. Murray may, at this time, have confused the Indian accounts of the Koyukuk, lower Yukon, and Kuskokvim—the lower Yukon or the Kuskokvim being his Russian river, and the Koyukuk what he supposed to be the Yukon. No doubt the Indians traded with the Eskimo on the Koyukuk, but they certainly did not descend to the Arctic by way of the Koyukuk and Colville, the headwaters of the two rivers being a hundred miles apart. The Colville drains into the Arctic near long. 151°. Although the accepted spelling is as above, Murray's 'Colvile' is really more correct, the river having been named by Dease and Simpson, in 1837, after Andrew Colvile, of the Hudson's Bay Company.

same description; where it passes between the Big Beaver Mountains it is much narrower and the current *very* strong. We are in the centre of the country belonging to the 'Kootchin-Kootchin' (People of the low lands) *low* enough land in all conscience; on every hand are small lakes, swamps and creeks, along the margins of which are interminable thickets of willows. The dry land (and where it is *dry* it is *dry*, being of a sandy soil) is mostly open, or having a small birch and willows, the only wood of importance is along the banks of the river or on the islands. To the northwest, west and south we are surrounded by lofty mountains varying from 40 to 100 miles distant, those to the south and south west are seen distinctly from this and have a very rugged appearance. Beyond them to the southwest as far as the Indians know it is all a mountainous country. From the mouth of the 'River of the Mountain Men' to the polar sea, the land is said to be very low and swampy and thinly wooded. The country on the north of Porcupine River, between the Youcon and McKenzie, is described as being generally of the same nature as in the vicinity of Peels River, where there are no mountains there are lakes and swamps. From the Ramparts on Porcupine River commence the Carribeux Mountains, they extend all along to the mouth of the McKenzie, they are smooth and barren, unless the moss and spare tufts of heather be considered verdure. The lands towards the sources of Porcupine and Peels Rivers are of a different nature, and the mountains rocky. I have seen two of the 'Naheiy' Indians, a band who inhabit the mountains towards the source of Gravel River,<sup>1</sup> and ascertained a little respecting its source. One, and the longest branch, springs from a lake, and the others from amongst the mountains, he says it is much nearer from the head waters of Gravel River to Frances Lake than to the upper part of Peels River, therefore there is little chance of effecting a communication between

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1. Gravel river, a tributary of the Mackenzie, which it joins above Fort Norman, about long. 125°. Its headwaters approach those of Macmillan and Stewart rivers, tributaries of the Yukon. In 1898-99 prospectors wintered on the upper waters of the Gravel, and crossed by the pass at its head to the waters of the Stewart, reaching Dawson about June, 1899. The river is laid down on the 1899 map of parts of the Yukon Territory and Mackenzie district in 1908 from sketch maps prepared by these prospectors. It was surveyed for the first time by an officer of the Geological Survey.

this and the McKenzie from that quarter. Between this and the forks of the Lewis and Pelly, the country is reported to be similar to what it is here, but better wooded, the river also bears the same character, rapid with many shoals and battures, and difficult even for canoes to ascend.

I think there could be no better location for a trading establishment on this river than where we are. We are, as it were, in a central part of the country and within reach of five different bands of Indians, and I would calculate on,—but the Russians being so near us have played the devil with all my calculations—I mean to say, that had we no opposition I could reckon with almost a certainty on over 300 *men* trading regularly here. This country abounds in all the various discriptions of fur bearing animals common in other southern districts, except Fishers. Otter are very scarce or the Indians kill few of them, but for beaver it is inferior to no other country, martens do not appear plentiful in our immediate neighbourhood, still the Indians kill great numbers, Foxes the Silver and Cross predominating, are very numerous, wolverines are also very plentiful, the large gray wolf is often seen, and there are too many Lynx for the rabbits to continue long as abundant as they have been the past winter. We have the Black, Brown, and Grizzly Bear, the latter kind are most abundant and infest the mountains to the south and south west and the intervening country, they are large and of the same ferocious nature as those in the south, very few are killed by the Indians, who avoid meeting them as much as possible, the bear generally making the first attack, and unless there are a good party of Indians together to give battle they generally make their escape in their canoes or by ascending trees. For moose, I believe this country to be unequaled during the spring (March and April), it only requires a good hunter and a gale of wind to kill an animal when it is required. Rein deer frequent the high lands about the Ramparts of Porcupine River, four days' journey in winter from this, only the large discription of Rein deer are found on the mountains to the south.<sup>1</sup> We have any quantity of rab-

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1. In connection with the various fur-bearing animals found by Murray in the Yukon country, reference may be made to Nelson's 'Report upon Natural History Collections made in Alaska, 1877-1881,' and to Petroff's 'Alaska,' p. 55, *et seq.* with his interesting series of maps illustrating the range of the different fur-bearing animals.



bits, and as for fish I have already given you a particular account. The soil is of a dry and sandy nature, the best suited for agricultural purposes in a cold country like this, how far it will be successful I cannot yet tell, but we are about to give it a fair trial. I begin to fear the summer season is too short, the few potatoes planted after our arrival (on July 1st) were allowed to grow as long as the season permitted, and taken up on the 13th of September, after the *rivers* were blackened by the frost. Only *ten* potatoes were planted, but cut in pieces as usual and our whole crop was nearly a gallon, varying in size from a pea to a partridge egg, only about half a dozen of the largest has kept over winter, although kept in the house in dry sand and packed around with dry moss. The balance of the potatoes brought with us, were placed in a keg filled also with pure sand, the best preservation for decay, in order to preserve seed in some way or other, in examining said potatoes in the fall—lo and behold, they had brought forth young, and nourished them with the juice of their own bodies, for they could draw precious little from pure sand. Ground is now being prepared and in a day or two more they will be planted and some barley sown, also the other seeds you were so considerate as (to) send me, and may God grant us a genial summer say I, though it should only be for the ‘tators,’ for I would fight with the pigs for them.

As for cattle, hay could be found for a thousand head, and without much trouble, there are swamps, which in fall, are waving with long grass around us in every direction.

The population of the country from the Pelly to the Polar Sea—I mean along the Youcon and its tributaries—is from what I can ascertain close upon 1,000 *men*, or men and boys able to hunt,<sup>1</sup> for women and children it would be needless to

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1. See Richardson, I, 397, to same effect. Richardson, in fact, here follows Murray's journal almost word for word. The spelling of tribal names differs in some cases. Richardson has *Artez-kutchi*, this copy reads ‘Arlez-Koochin;’ Richardson reads *Tathzey-kutchi*, this copy ‘Fathzei-Kootchin;’ this *Trätzè-kutchi* reads ‘Frawtsee-footchin’ here; and his *Zèkà-thaka* or *Zi-unka-kutchi*, becomes ‘Teeathaka’ or ‘Tecunka-Kootchin.’ To some extent these differences may be attributable to different readings of the original manuscript; and as Richardson no doubt had opportunities of hearing the names pronounced by Bell and others who had been to the Yukon, it will be safe to assume that his versions are substantially correct. ‘Arlez,’ in this copy should no doubt



make inquiries, I suppose there is a reasonable proportion. Having only seen three men who had been as far up as the *Pelly*, I could get little knowledge respecting the tribes about the Lewis and Pelly and towards the Great Lake, but between the Pelly<sup>2</sup> and the coast are a band called the 'Arlez-Kootchin' (Tough or hard people) numbering about 100. The 'Tchu-Kootchin' (People of the water) are also about 100 men, they inhabit the country about the sources of *deep river* and to the west of it. On the banks of the Youcon below the Forks of the Lewis and Pelly are the 'Fathzei-Kootchin' (People of the Ramparts) there are only about 20 men in this band, these with the others above mentioned trade with the Russians on the coast. Between them and the lands belonging to the natives of this place are the 'Han-Kootchin' (People of the water) known as the *Gens du fou*, this is the largest band of any here-about, there are in all 230 men. They are divided into four bands, the uppermost one is the 'Frawtsee-Kootchin' (People of the Forks) the *Gens du fou* inhabit a great extent of country, from the sources of Porcupine and Peels River to those of the River of the Mountain Men; they often visit the Russians on the coast, but frequently trade with intervening Indians. A few of them used to go to Peels River, last spring there were 16 men, and *here* in the summer and fall we saw a good many but what they brought was of little value. The Indians *here* are the 'Kootcha-Kootchin' (People of the low lands) they are divided into three bands and number in all 90 men. Farther down the river are the 'Teeathaka' or sometimes called the 'Tecunka-Kootchin' of course (the people of this side, or the middle people), there are only 20 men, and like those here,

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read 'Artez,' 'Fathzei' should be 'Tathzei,' 'Frawtsee,' 'Trawtsee,' 'Teeathaka,' 'Zeeathaka,' and 'Tecunka,' 'Zecunka.' Such mistakes in the transcription of initial letters in manuscript may, of course, very easily be made. Apart from these differences, Richardson's versions probably represent what he believed to be the more exact sound of the Indian names. So far as the numbers of men and boys in these various bands are concerned, Murray's figures may be compared with those of Chief Factor James Anderson, whose 1858 census is reproduced in Dawson's Yukon Report (Geol. Survey, 1887-8, 206B). Anderson gives the number of those frequenting Fort Yukon, Lapierre House, and Fort McPherson, as 1179, but this includes women and children, so that if the two estimates are even approximately correct, there must have been a considerable less of population in the decade.

2. As before stated, all these references to the Lewes must be taken to refer to the Pelly, and vice versa.



Kootchin women and children.



except a few that may have seen the Russians none had any intercourse with the Whites. To the west of these are the 'Tannin-Kootchin' (People of the Butes) upwards 100 men, and farther down about the Forks of the '*Russian River*' are the 'Teytseh-Kootchin' (People of the shade or shelter), about 100 men. These last two deal regularly with the Russians, and have since the first appearance of the Russians below been in the habit of trading the furs from the Indians of this place. Towards the mouth of the river there are two other bands, usually called the 'Tlagga-tsilla' (Little Dogs) a name given by the Indians here; their number is not known, but is supposed to be considerably upward of a hundred men. It is believed that they have not seen the Russians, and dispose of what furs they may make to the western Esquimaux at the mouth of the river. The country around Porcupine River, but principally to the north of it, belongs to the 'Vanta-Kootchin' (People of the lakes) known at Peels River as the *distant Rat Indians*, about 80 men. The 'Letter Carrier' their chief with perhaps a third of his followers have traded at Peels River ever since the Fort was built. The 'Neyetse-Kootchin' (People of the wide country) are almost the same band with the others, as they have no particular leader, of these there are about 40 men, none of whom except four that were here in fall ever saw the Whites. The Indians that may be reckoned on to trade here, are the 'Kootcha-Kootchin,' about a hundred of the 'Gens du fou,' the 'Middle Band,' the 'Gens du Laye,' and perhaps fifty of the 'Men of the Lakes'—say 300 men—but if it were known that we had plenty of the goods most in demand, that is beads and guns, I would calculate on many more resorting to this place.<sup>1</sup>

But I must give you a more particular description of the natives of this part of the world. The Loucheux Indians and those here speak the same language, there is some difference in pronunciation and a few words altogether different, but they are easily understood by the interpreter. The Middle Band and People of the Butes speak the same. The Indians to the

1. On the language and bonds of consanguinity and affinity of the Loucheux and Kutchin, as well as on the meaning and application of the latter name, consult Dall's '*Alaska and its Resources*,' Petroff's '*Alaska*,' Gibbs' '*Notes on the Tinneh or Chipewyan Indians of British and Russian America*,' in Smithsonian Report, 1866, and Dawson's '*Yukon Report*,' in Geol. Survey, 1887-8, 203B.



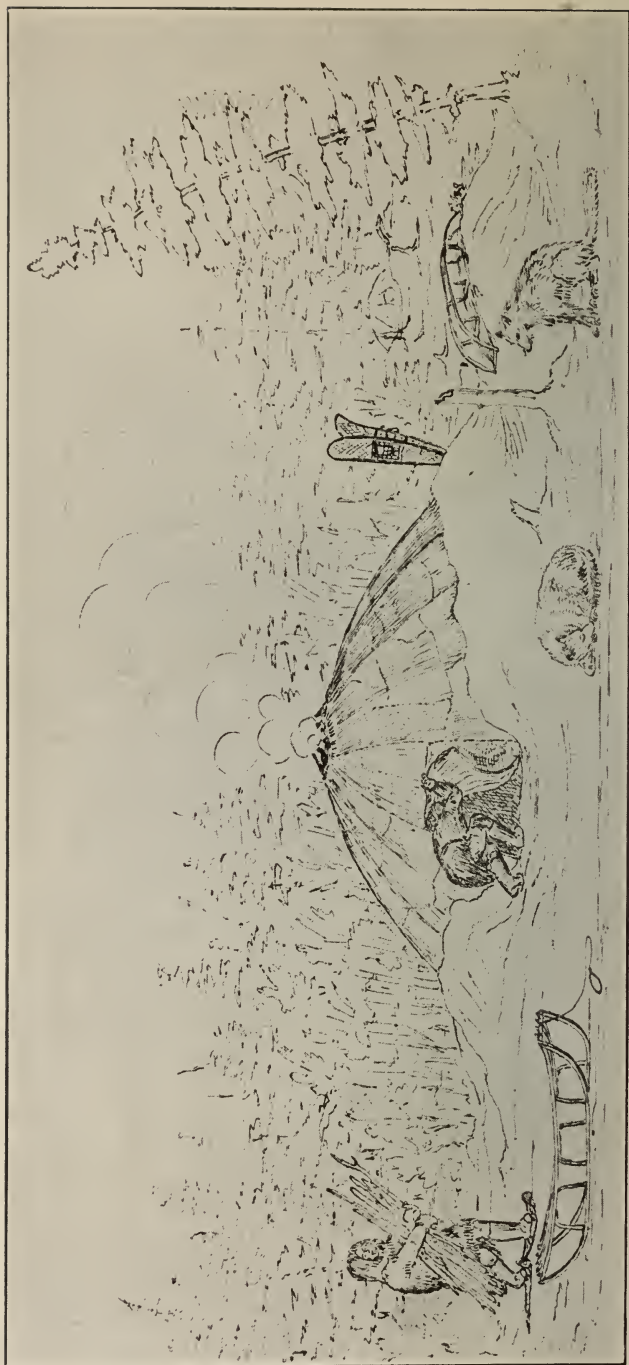
west and south of us, between (here) and the coast, have a great difference in pronunciation, but they all understand each other, and it is undoubtedly the same language that is spoken all over the country between the mouth of the McKenzie and Behring Straits (except the Esquimaux along the northern coast) they call themselves, as do all other tribes, the *People* 'Kootchin' at Peels River the word is pronounced plain, here the *n* is scarcely articulated, and frequently only *Kootchi*. To the west and south west there are the Tchuktchis and the Tchukatchis, these last our Indians call the Tchukootchins (People of the water), it is the same word, if I remember rightly *Tchuktches* is the name given the inhabitants on the opposite side of Behring Strait, there is a band to the west of the same name, and there is little doubt but they are originally the same people.

The 'Gens du fou' speak differently, their language is a mixture of the Loucheux and Nawhawny, and is nearly the same as is spoken towards Frances Lake, a number of the Gens du fou, those farthest north understand the Loucheux well.

The dress worn by all I have seen is nearly the same, the only difference being in the fashion of wearing the hair and some of their ornaments.<sup>1</sup> They wear a capot or shirt of dressed deer skin, pointed in front and behind something like the tails of a dress coat, a broad band of beads is generally worn across the breast and shoulders, and behind a fringe of fancy beads, and small leathern tassels wound round with porcupine quills and strung with the stones of a white berry common in the country. The 'Neather garment' is simply a pair of deer skin pantaloons, secured by a narrow band around the lower part of the body; a strip of beads about two inches broad is worn on each side of the *trousers* from the hip to the ankle, bands of beads are fastened around the legs and ankles. The shoes and pantaloons are of the same piece, the stripes of beads on the legs are in alternate squares of red and white, but frequently only single fringes are worn, and those who are poor use only porcupine quills. Beads are worn in every shape on the breast and shoulders and sometimes immense rolls of all

1. On the dress and ornaments of the Kutchin, the method of dressing the hair, clothing of men and women, the arms, lodges, &c., compare Richardson, I, ch. xii; Strachan Jones' 'Kutchin tribes,' in Gibbs' Notes, previously cited; Dall's, and Petroff's, Alaska; and Kirby's 'Journey to the Youcon,' in Smithsonian Report, 1864.





Winter lodges of the Kootchin.

colors for necklaces. The head bands are made of small and various colored beads and small shells (the same as those you sent me), those shells are always used in the nose, and hung to the ears. The hair is tied behind and wound around with shells. Their mittens which they always carry are ornamental with them, they even have them fixed to some of their guns. Each man has hanging to his neck two small bags containing black lead and red earth for painting themselves (their faces), each one paints according to his own fancy, most commonly the upper parts of the cheeks and around the eyes are black, a black strip along the top of the nose, the forehead is covered with narrow red stripes, and the chin with strips of red and black. Eagle and hawk feathers are stuck in the hair behind, and removed only when they go to sleep or to be used when dancing. The 'Gens du fou' and lower Indians mix their hair with red earth, greese and the down of geese and ducks, by continuing this from their infancy the *tail* attains an immense length, often as large as the head, and becomes so heavy loaded as it is with beads and shells and accumulated dirt, that the neck is bent forward, and gives the Indians the appearance of stooping. Their arms are the common bow and arrows and the Russian knife and dagger and spear. Their knives are made of iron, but the fancy handles and fluted blades are of more value to them than the temper of the knife; they complain of ours being too hard and the difficulty of sharpening them. The quiver is worn on the left side by a string around the shoulders, until lately very few had guns, but they are now in great demand, of the 90 men who compose the band, only 12 of them have guns, but many more carry powder horns, which they procure from other Indians, and all carry ammunition when they can get it, and have a share of what is killed by the owners of the guns. The winter dress is a rabbit skin capot and deer skin trousers dressed with the hair on, the hair is always worn next the skin. Their dress clothes are always carried with them and put on at night whether here or in their own lodge. The women dress nearly the same as the men, only the capot is a *leetle* longer, and with no point in front, they have fewer ornaments and the hair is seldom tied. Each family is provided with a deer skin lodge, the hair is always kept on for warmth in winter, the lodge is seldom used in summer. In winter they



encamp in a thicket of pines, the ground is cleared and the lodge put up on willow poles which they generally carry with them on their sledges. Snow is then packed half way up, the inside is lined with small pine brush, and the small hole used for a door closed with a double deer skin. Although they have small fires it is as warm as most houses. Their stock of provisions, consisting generally of dried fish, is kept outside in a 'cache' made of branches and snow, open above on which are placed their sleighs. They are better dressed and in general live much more comfortably than the Indians of the McKenzie. The women do all the drudgery in winter, collect fire wood, haul the sleighs along with the dogs, bring snow for water, etc., but the men always cook, and the women are not allowed to eat until their husbands are satisfied. They treat their wives generally with kindness, but are very jealous of them. The principal men of the nation have two and three wives each, one old leader here has five, while others who have few beads (and beads are their riches) to decorate the women, remain bachelors, but a good fighter though a poor man can always have a wife. The women do little in summer except drying the fish or meat, the men alone paddle the canoes, the women go as passengers, I have even seen the men carry them from the canoes to where the ground was dry for fear of having their feet wet. The men are about the middle stature, slim but well formed, regular features and high forehead, and much lighter complexions than any Indians I have seen. The women are *ditto*, there is one here at this present, one of the chief's wives, as handsome a woman as one might see in the longest day of the year, were it not for her hideous garment and tattowed face, the chins of the women are always tattowed, and black is the color they mostly use to paint their faces. The young children are not bandaged in moss bags or Indian cradles common with other tribes, but placed in a kind of a seat made of birch bark, with back and sides resembling an arm chair, and in front like a Spanish saddle. In this the women carry their children by a strap around the shoulders in the usual manner. The child's legs hang on each side, encased in boots, the feet are confined to prevent them from growing, they have all short and unshapely feet, but this with them is considered handsome.





Dance of the Kootcha-Kootchin.

Dancing and singing are their favourite amusements, and they excel any other Indians that I have seen in both, leaping, wrestling and other feats of strength and agility are often practised, particularly when different bands meet who are on friendly terms. They are the most inveterate talkers, every one that arrives makes a speech which we must listen to, before he moves from the door, explaining where he has been, how hard he has worked to get so and so for us, that he ought to be well paid, the news from the other band, etc. etc., and they will not be interrupted until it is finished, though it should be the coldest day in winter. They have like all other tribes their good and evil spirits, which they seldom trouble except in cases of sickness or war, the evil spirit is the one generally invoked, they being most afraid of it; according to their account the spirit works mighty wonders betimes. They have their 'medicine men' or conjurors who only, it is believed, can communicate with the 'evil one,' and foretell death. These fellows are looked upon with respect and awe by the others; should any one have a quarrel or even dispute with another band, and this one afterwards to die, it is believed by all that his death is caused by the 'medicine' of the other band; a strong party is mustered and sets out to have revenge, if the death of their friend is not immediately paid for—from twenty to fifty and sixty skins or beads is the payment for a death, varying according to the rank of the deceased. The lower band of this nation was at war as I have already mentioned with the 'Teytse-Kootchin' and five of the latter were killed, but not in open battle, a regular 'stand up fight' seldom occurs, the usual mode is by surprise at night, or waiting in the vicinity of their enemies' encampment and killing any stragglers that may come within their reach. The cause of the quarrel last summer was the sudden death of a woman, wife to one of our principal men. This occurred soon after she had been here, and it was at first believed that we were the cause of her death, but this was overruled and the blame attached to the lower band who had some disagreement with her husband. Upwards of thirty warriors started off in canoes, on their way down they had put ashore to sleep, when five of the unsuspecting 'Teytse-Kootchin' arrived. One of them was far behind the others, and the first four being allowed on shore were instantly dispatched with their daggers and stripped of



their beads and ornaments. The fifth man came up but not seeing his comrades suspected that all was not right and refused to go on shore, he landed on a batture and talked with them across the channel. Two of our Indians carried their canoes unperceived through the willows and embarked around a point farther up and descended the river as if belonging to a different party. They paddled for the batture on which the stranger stood, they told him they were going down stream and would be glad of their [his?] company, that it was much pleasanter for two or three to be together and sing as they went along. He waited until they came up and was about to step into his canoe, when the *Little Chief* tripped him by the foot, he fell into the water and the other Indian stabbed him before he had time to get up. The warriors (murderers) proceeded on their journey intending to have still further revenge, but they returned here without killing more, there were too many of the other Indians together for them to attack successfully. Two years since four of the lower Indians were killed a little above where we are, they arrived one night at the lodge of an old man while he was sick and encamped alone with his two sons, one of them a boy. The Indians entered the lodge professing themselves friends, but after a while the sons noticing that they did not sleep and suspicious of their intentions, left the lodge intimating to their father that they were going to visit the moon snares, and took with them their bows and arrows. They remained outside until they knew by the conversation that their father's life was menaced, and knowing where the strangers sat, shot their arrows through the tent and killed two, the others were dispatched also by arrows while endeavouring to make their escape. This is spoken of as being a remarkably brave action. But they seldom tell of their reverses; they must have been less successful than some of their foes, twenty years ago, they say, they were a large nation, but being always at war more than half of their people have been killed. By all account they are a most treacherous people, and the taking of a man's life is no more regarded by them than that of a moose. With us they have behaved themselves well, particularly as they had never seen white people, there is only one exception. One of them here in the fall wished to enter Mr. Hope's house while his wife was alone, she shut the door in his face, and he again tried to force it open, and to





Saveeah, chief of the Kootcha-Kootchin.

effect this drew his knife on the woman, as he said afterwards, only to frighten her, and I believe he meant nothing more, still it was requested that he should have a particular *blowing up* which he got, and with orders never to enter the house again. The poor fellow was frightened almost to death about it, he has not been here since. Except that one instance I can say nothing against them. I have never known any of them to steal, although to be sure they have had few opportunities, as what we have got is strictly looked after, still they are not to be trusted. On account of being so often at war, and living in constant dread of enemies, they generally keep in large parties. They spend the summer principally in fishing, and make a supply of dried trout and white fish for winter. The small rivers and narrow parts of the lakes are barred with stakes, and large willow baskets placed to entrap the fish, sometimes immense hauls are made; they never use nets and know nothing of them. In fall and winter they live on rabbits and moose, the moose are generally snared, very few of the Indians can kill them in any other way, but the animals are so plentiful that they are frequently shot, the young chief has been employed here as Fort Hunter and been very successful, but he is considered the best moose hunter in the whole band. Towards spring most of them repair to the Carribeux lands to make a supply of dried meat, but more particularly to procure skins for clothing, etc. Comparatively little of their time is devoted to hunting furs, they talk as if they could get what they wanted at any time, immediately after the disruption of the ice is the season they kill most beaver.

I suppose I have said enough about these Barbarians. A few sketches by way of a change and some specimens of the language may be interesting to you.

The above *Gentleman* 'Saveeah',<sup>1</sup> the principal chief of the Kootcha-Kootchin was present while I was sketching the others, and remarked that he did not see himself amongst them. I offered to take his likeness to send to the Great White Chief, and he has been sitting for the last half hour with his *best face* on. He is mightily pleased with his own appearance on paper,

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1. This may be the same chief mentioned by Schwatka as *Senati*.



although I have made a complete bough<sup>1</sup> of it, except the mouth it is not unlike.

I may here remark that all the chiefs hereabouts are young men, and when they become old they are not much regarded as leaders, none are considered a chief until they have 200 skins worth of beads. This Indian never saw whites before we arrived. He has given us more fur and more meat than any other, was our Fort Hunter this spring, has great influence with his band, and is the person for whom the Red Coat is intended, after our arrival from Lapiers House.

## ENGLISH.

KUTCHIN.<sup>2</sup>

## NUMBERS.

1.....	Tech-lagga.
2.....	Nawk-hey.
3.....	Thee-eka.
4.....	Tawwna.
5.....	Tla-kon-iley.
6.....	Neech-kee-et-hog.
7.....	Atait-sa-newk-he.
8.....	Neech-kee-etawwna.
9.....	Muntcha-necko.
10.....	Tech-lagga-chow-et-hee-en.
11.....	Tech-lagga-meekee-tagga.
12.....	Nawk-heiy-meekee-tagga.
13.....	Thee-eka-meekee-tagga.
14.....	Tawwna-meekee-tagga.
&c.....	
20.....	Nawk-how chowetheein.
21.....	Nawk-how chowetheein unsa techlagga.
22.....	Nawk-how chowetheein unsa nawkheiy.
&c.....	
30.....	Thee-eka chowit heein.
40.....	Tawwna-ha chowit heein.
50.....	Atlakinniley chowit heein.
60.....	Neech-kee-et-hog chowit heein.
70.....	Ataitsa chowit heein.
80.....	Neech-kee-etawwna chowit heein.
90.....	Muntcha-necko chowit heein.
100.....	Tech-lagga chowetheein chowetheein.
200.....	Nawkaggo chowetheein chowetheein.
300.....	Thee-eka chowetheein chowetheein.
&c., &c.....	

1. A complete 'botch,' presumably.

2. Compare Richardson, I, 399-400, II, 382-85 (reproduced in Introduction to this Journal); Dall's 'Alaska,' Latham's 'Ethnology of the British Colonies,' pp. 22417; Hardesty's 'Terms of Relationship of the Kutchin,' in Morgan's 'Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity,' pp. 293-382; Kennicott's Kotch-a-Kutchin vocabulary, in Whympers 'Travel and Adventure in Alaska,' pp. 322-28; and Isbester's vocabulary, in Philo. Soc. of London Proc., Vol. 4, pp. 184-5.



Kootcha-Kootchin.



## ENGLISH.

## KUTCHIN.

*Animals.*

Bear.....	So
Grizzly.....	See-e
Beaver.....	Se
Red fox.....	Naw-kath
Cross fox.....	Naw-kath-so.
Black fox.....	Naw-kath-berhata-neel-ir-zey.
White fox.....	Etchee-athwee.
Lynx.....	Nee-cetchi.
Marten.....	Tsoo-ko.
Mink.....	Tcheeth-ey.
Otter.....	Tsue.
Rat.....	Tzin.
Wolf.....	Zo.
Rabbit.....	Ke.
Wolverine.....	Lech-cthue.
Seal.....	Nawt-chuk.
Moose.....	Teen-juke.
Reindeer.....	Bet-zey.
Goose.....	Chre.
Swan.....	Taw-arr-zyne.
Crane.....	Cheaw.
Duck.....	Tet-sun.
Partridge.....	Ach-tayl.
Fish or salmon.....	Tleugh-ko.
White fish.....	Telugh-ko tawk-heiy.
Pike.....	Alle-teein.
Blue fish.....	Rsee-tcha.
Loche.....	Cho-tleugh.

*Goods.*

Awl.....	Tha.
Axe.....	Faw-ey.
Beads.....	Nawkye.
Belt.....	Tho.
Blanket.....	Tsetta.
Tobacco box.....	Coltow-teeah.
Buttons.....	Tey-ky-theet-le.
Cap.....	Tsa kol-u.
Bonnet.....	Tsa-till-ek-ha.
Capot.....	Eek.
Duffle capot.....	Chy-eek.
Chisel.....	Soo-it-se.
Comb.....	Cheer-zug.
Dagger.....	Neel-ey-cho.
File.....	Kook-ee.
Gartering.....	Lakath-at-hye.
Looking glass.....	Mootchye-se-a.
Gun.....	Te-egga.
Gun flint.....	Bech-tsee.
Gun.....	Koggo-te.
Gunpowder.....	Tegga-kon.
Powder horn.....	Awkee-cetche.
Kettle.....	Thee-aw.
Knife.....	R-see.
Ring.....	Eelawt-thick.
Shot.....	Tegga-awtsil.
Shirt.....	Azue-ee-ek.
Ball.....	Tegga-awtcho.
Fire-steel.....	Tlga.
Cloth.....	Atheet lee.
Thread.....	Atheetle-cetchee.
Tobacco.....	Se-eytee-it.
Trowsers.....	Tley-eek.
Vermilion.....	Tingee-ta-tseigh.



## ENGLISH.

## KUTCHIN.

*Some Common Words.*

Tree.....	Tetch-hau.
Willow.....	Kyee.
Grass.....	Tlo.
Ground.....	Nun.
Water.....	Tchu.
River.....	Han.
Lake.....	Van.
Rain.....	Ach-tsin.
Warm.....	Konnee-stha.
Cold.....	Konnee-eka.
Hungry.....	Seze-quee-tseek.
Fatigued.....	Keea-seth-clth-chrey.
Sick.....	Ith-ill-seyh.
Mountain.....	Tha.
Valley.....	Chra-twunn-e.
Sun.....	R-sey-e.
Stars.....	Thun.
Rock.....	Tchee.
House or fort.....	Isseh.
Lodge.....	Nee-bee-a.
Bow.....	Alt-heigh.
Arrow.....	Kee-e.
Canoe.....	Tree.
Good.....	Neir-zee.
Bad.....	Bets-de-te.
Day.....	Tzeen.
Night.....	Tatha.
Sleep.....	Nogh-tchee.
Rest.....	Tuggath-illa-ch.
Sit.....	Tcheeth-oo-itche.
Walk.....	A-whott-il.
Run.....	Spa-tocha.
Shoot.....	Awt-il-ke.
Kill.....	Boshug-on-iocha.
Man.....	Tin-gee.
Woman.....	Trya-jo.
Boy.....	Tse-a.
Girl.....	Meet-chet ey.
Dog.....	Tlyne.
Sleigh.....	Latchan-bultl.

I have just finished copying in my meteorological journal, and find that I have only a few more leaves to fill up, which I am partly glad at, as there are so many different jobs going on now, that require my presence, that I am scarcely allowed to sit down ten minutes at a time. I expected by this time to have seen most of the Indians from the Carribeux Mountains, but none have yet arrived, a few who were here about a month since for ammunition, informed us that the reason of their people not coming in as they promised on the last snow was, that the Reindeer were very scarce, and that they had made no dried meat, but would likely be here by open water, some of them had a good many furs which they would keep until our return from Lapiers House.

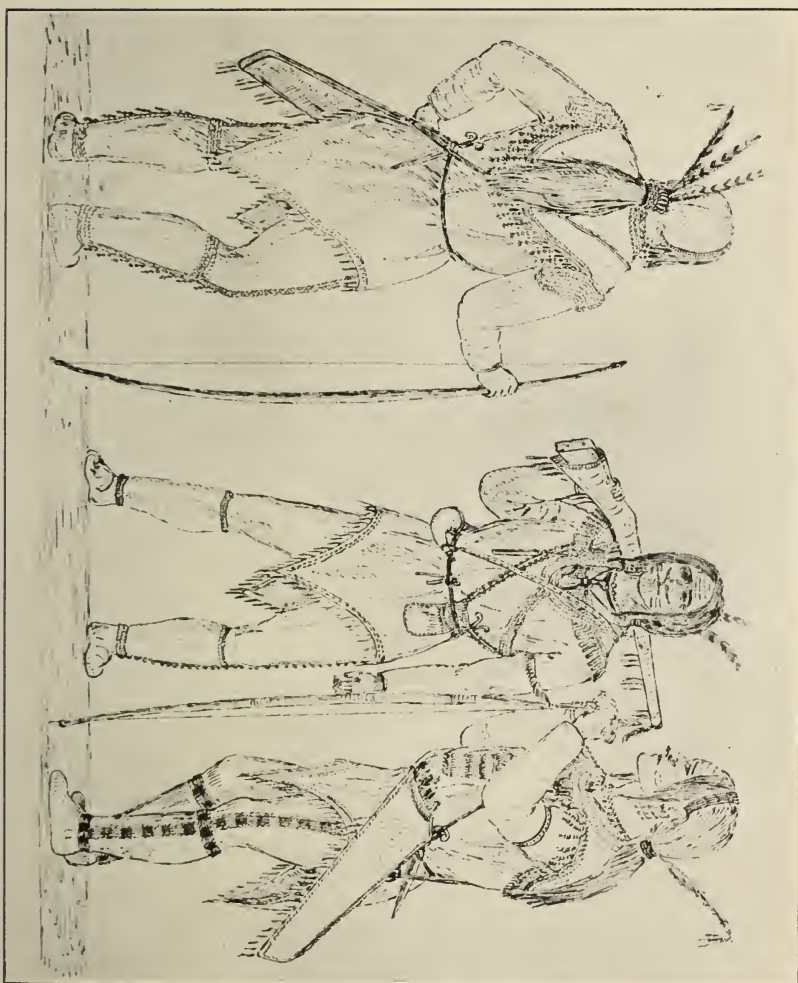
None of the lower band were here since April, they are passing the spring with the 'Tannin-Kootchin' on the other

side of the mountains to the west of this, and I have heard, have disposed of many of their furs to that band for beads. This is only what I expected, it is not likely that the Indians will keep their furs so long (until our arrival in July) when they can trade elsewhere at any time, and get what goods they require which they cannot procure from us. When I wrote to you in November, I had then no other idea, than that the Russians would only make an annual visit to this river, and as their stay would be limited, should they not reach the place, I fully expected to have prevented the Indians here from meeting them, and it was my policy, and is still, however repugnant to my feelings to encourage [rather?] than otherwise the enmity between the Kootcha-Kootchin and lower bands, but now that the Russians have commenced to build farther down the river, and no doubt intend to support a regular establishment there, and trading so much lower than us, the future prospects of the trade of this place are not so encouraging as they were, particularly when I consider of our forthcoming outfit. I received the [outfit?] by the return of my men from Lapiers House on January 5th and must say, that I was greatly mortified to find so limited a supply of the articles most needed (beads and guns) being sent; I notice that there are only a quarter of a box of beads (16 lbs.). I would have been better satisfied had none at all been sent, as then I could have settled with the Indians alike, without displeasing one more than another. I am now at a loss what to do. There is one man of the upper band who has between 90 and 100 skins in martens and beaver which he is keeping *all* for beads on our return. *Two men* would take more than what are sent, and how am I to settle with 300? I know you could not be aware at the time the outfit was made up of what was required here, and moreover that it requires a certain time too, if you have to depend on goods coming from England, perhaps three years,<sup>1</sup> before an extra supply of goods for this

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1. 'At the time of the establishment of Forts Yukon and Selkirk,' says Dawson, 'and for many years afterwards, the "returns" from these furthest stations reached the market only after seven years, the course of trade being as follows: *Goods*.—1st year, reach York Factory; 2nd year, Norway House; 3rd year, Peel river, and were hauled during the winter across the mountains to La Pierre's House; 4th year, reach Fort Yukon. *Returns*.—5th year, reach La Pierre's House and are hauled across to Peel river; 6th year, reach depot at Fort Simpson; 7th year, reach market.'

addition to your district is received at Fort Simpson, you might not have had the means to send more, still I did expect at least two boxes of beads and two of guns. Now I have got into a scrape, or at least will get into one on my return; the Indians all expect a larger outfit, I have promised it to them and what excuse can I give? You may ask why did I promise a larger outfit? I answer that I had no other means of preventing them from disposing of their furs to the lower bands, and surely I had a right to expect a larger supply of goods than is sent. But even already in spite of all my endeavours a quantity of furs are traded, and it is perhaps just as well, because if they were brought here they would be again taken away. Without *beads* and plenty of them you can do little or no good here. The indent I sent you in winter might astonish you with respect to that article and also guns. I then mentioned four boxes of beads, because I thought it unlikely that you could send more, that quantity with a proportionate supply of guns, ammunition and tobacco, and other articles most needed would perhaps suffice, but unless fancy beads are also sent a great part of the trade will go to our opponents. There is not an Indian here, and very few even at Peels River but wear fancy beads, that is blue and red of various sizes, they cost the Indians nearly double what they pay for the common white beads, all these fancy beads are traded from the Russians, or by the Peels River Indians from the 'Gens-du-fou' and natives of this quarter. To trade here successfully, there ought to be for one year's outfit four boxes of common white beads, one box of red (same size) and one box of fancy (blue of various sizes and colors and necklaces), this quantity it will perhaps be difficult to procure at York Factory, but there is a great quantity sent to Red River, there every common woman wears them, the Company may perhaps receive one shilling for each necklace, if they were sent here they would be worth at least 30 shillings each. For the small shells, a few of which you sent me at Peels River, they are most valuable, every Indian wears them, as nose and ear ornaments, for hair bands, etc., and a small quantity might be sent annually from the Columbia without a great deal of trouble. Except cloth and capots which can only be disposed of when there is nothing else, cloth even not then, everything else can be traded here, some brass arm bands and neck orna-







ments, medals and larger sized ear rings could be disposed of most advantageously, also some fancy handled knives. I would most urgently advise, if you wish this settlement to prosper, that an extensive and suitable outfit be sent, even though some of the older established places should be more scantily supplied for a season. But even though we have a good outfit, I have my doubts of now being as successful as I expected. We cannot begin to compete with the Russians as to prices, nor can I tell what the result will be after the full force of the opposition will be felt.

I should like much to know what are the H. B. Company's intentions respecting this country, whether it will be leased from the Russians A. T. Co., or if we are to continue here regardless of them. In the latter case we shall in all likelihood get into some trouble, but if we have goods sufficient for the demands of the Indians, I doubt not but we might fight our way for a few years, unless the Russians build nearer to us than where they are now; as for their coming here in summer, I have great hopes, that the distance and difficulty of navigating the river will be sufficient prevention. But should the Company (the H. B. Co.) intend to extend the trade along the river, I will submit to you my humble ideas respecting it: The Youcon from the forks of the Lewis and Pelly to the Polar Sea may perhaps be, from its windings, 1100 or 1200 miles in length,<sup>1</sup> it drains an extensive and populous territory, abounding in beaver, martens, and all the common fur bearing animals. Moose are plentiful, and I think there would be no danger, but a sufficiency of provisions could be procured and were it properly established would compose a district in my opinion equal to the McKenzie. But there are several serious inconveniences which ought to be taken into consideration; the first and greatest is our proximity to the Russians, and being so far into their territories, and the probability even if we had full permission to trade here, that the opposition they would offer from inland establishments and on the coast would affect us: and supposing that we had four or five Forts along the river, and the country is sufficiently extensive and populous to support that number, another great

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1. The length of the Yukon, from the confluence of the Pelly and Lewes, to the sea, is 1,360 miles; its total length, from the headwaters of the Nisutlin, is 1,765 miles.

drawback would be the difficulty of having our goods and returns transported to and from the McKenzie; I wrote you last spring regarding the present winter route between Peels River and Lapiers House, of the great scarcity of wood amongst the mountains, enough may be found for a year or two more, but unless another route is found there will be much difficulty in having our outfit brought across. By following some of the small rivers more to the south, no doubt wood for encamping in winter can be found but there it may lengthen the journey. Rat River rises from a lake in a pass in the mountains to the north of Peels River Fort, from the same lake also flows another river also named Rat River which joins Peels River near to the McKenzie, both these rivers as far as I have seen appear navigable, if a water communication could be formed then it would be most advantageous in every respect. I had once great hopes that some communication by way of lakes might be discovered between Gravel River and some tributary of the Youcon, but from what the Indians say, I believe it to be impracticable, and as to being supplied from the Pelly, via the west branch it is entirely out of the question, at least as far down the Youcon as where we are.<sup>1</sup>

I have been interrupted in writing the above by the arrival of six of the 'Gens du fou' from their lands up this river: I will give you their news some of which is rather important. A very large party of these Indians started to come here after the disruption of the ice, with a quantity of furs and dried meat, they had reached so far as the ramparts where the river was blocked except one narrow channel, they entered the channel but found it closed some distance farther down, the current, then very strong, carried them too far, several of their canoes were swamped, one man drowned, and all of the others except the six men just arrived lost their furs and provisions, being forced to throw them out to lighten their canoes and save themselves. Those here have only saved a few deer skins and lynx

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1. Murray's Rat river first mentioned is now Bell river. Bell river and Rat river rise in the same mountains, about  $136^{\circ} 10'$ . See previous note on Gravel river. 'West branch' refers to the upper waters of the Liard; it appears as 'N. west branch' on the map accompanying Richardson's 'Arctic Searching Expedition.' As elsewhere noted, the route by way of the Liard and Pelly was abandoned in favour of the Porcupine, after Campbell's journey of 1850.

and martens, the poor fellows are in very low spirits about it. I am sorry for them, and for the provisions, but I consider it fortunate for us that the furs were not brought, at least the quantity they say they had, they were arriving here for guns, and they would have got none nor very little else. These Indians have been trading some furs with the Russians last winter, going there principally for a supply of snuff and tobacco. These Indians are very fond of snuff and generally carry it with them. The distance from this to one of the Russian Forts is not great, and ten of the Russians with a party of Indians started to come here in winter to see who and where we were, but returned on account of the severity of the cold. They have discovered another and nearer route to the Youcon by descending a river which joins this in the Gens du fou country (above this) and they are coming here with a large party of these Indians this summer. The Indians have been telling us all about their Fort, their trade and their goods, etc., etc. Amongst other things which they were bringing across the new portage was a *cannon* one of which they always carry on each boat in 'these parts.' If all this be true we shall yet see the Russians. I had hopes that from below they would scarcely reach us, but since they descend the river it is most probable they will be here. These Indians also tell us that they had heard from the middle band, and these again from the upper band (there are four bands in that tribe) that some of *our people* were coming here this summer in a canoe, which canoe, a large one, was being built at the Pelly, and three Indians engaged to accompany *our people* hither; this of course is Mr. Campbell, but I can scarcely credit the report as Mr. C. can only be arriving at the Pelly about this time with the boats built on the Lewis during winter or spring, and if his place is like this, he will have too much to attend to in building his Fort<sup>1</sup> and managing the Indian trade etc., to spend so much of his time on a voyage of discovery. He may descend the river easily enough, but if reports are to be believed, the flowers will again have faded ere he again view the banks of the Pelly.<sup>1</sup> Well, the

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1. The beginning of June, 1848, when this was written, Campbell was just about starting down the river from Pelly Banks, to the forks of the Pelly and Lewes, where he built Fort Selkirk. It was not until two years later, however, that he and Murray met at Fort Yukon.



Russians are to be here, and with a *cannon*, and I suppose with the intention of blowing us all to ——— ‘they might and then again they mightn’t.’ If they come by this new route and descend the river they will likely be here while I am absent. I wish to God I had an experienced assistant either to leave here or go with the returns to Lapiers House, as it is, my presence to manage matters there, for this season, is indispensable, and we shall be off on the trip as soon as it is possible to ascend Porcupine river, it is not yet (May 26th) broken up, except near the mouth.

A party of Indians from the Carribeux Mountains have just arrived, smoke is seen ascending from the woods on the opposite side of the river, which we suppose to be from the encampment of the lower band who are expected daily. I have no time to write more now, this may be finished before I leave, or while on the voyage.

*June 16th.*

I am now on the voyage to Lapiers House, encamped amongst the rocks in the Ramparts of Porcupine River. We left on the 5th as soon as was practicable, the river overflowing its banks, and the current so very strong, that for a few days at first I had great difficulty in mounting it, but it is now subsiding rapidly, and much lower than when we descended last year, and several rather dangerous looking rapids appear, which were not then noticed. We have, so far, fine weather and abundance of mosquitos.

I left Mr. A. McKenzie and four men at the Youcon, and gave instructions for the summer's work, and there is plenty to keep them all employed. Our spring operations are pretty well forwarded considering the great distance all the wood had to be brought. *Two* new boats are built each 30 feet 8 in. keel and 9 feet beam. The cutting the timber for their boats and bringing the same in sleds from two to four miles distance was a tedious affair, but it is now over and with that built last spring, there are now *three good* boats, as many, I suppose, as will be required for some time. The two left are placed ‘en cache’ and well covered with small trees and brush to shelter them from the sun and weather. The pickets for the Fort are all cut and squared, and collected into piles close to the river,

they also had to be got on the upper islands, as no trees large enough could be found more convenient, they are to be rafted down stream on my return, they are the strongest pickets in the country and when put up with bastions in proportion will have something the appearance of a *Fort*.

I intended to have given you some account of how the winter and spring was spent, but have now little room, and less time. We have subsisted all spring until the day of our departure upon fresh moose meat, and there is left, well packed with snow in the cellar fresh provisions more than will support the people left until our return. Upwards of thirty moose large and small (but all lean) were killed during winter and spring, by the hunters brought with me and one or two of the natives, since winter very few Indians came near us, and all the dried meat received is scarcely worth nothing. The Indians that did arrive say that the reindeer are very scarce this season, and also that their friends would not come near us, knowing that we had little to give them. Had we been obliged to depend on the Indians for provisions in spring we would have not been so well off. With one thing and another I have been able to make the two ends meet, and saved the greater part of the pemmican brought with me. I left Lapiers House a year ago with 22 bags of pemmican, only 4 of which were consumed, 5 are brought with us for the present voyage, and of course 13 remain in store, there are also a good stock of dried fish and some very poor dried meat, with fully 300 lbs. of greese—this, with the fresh meat on hand, I hope you will allow to be a tolerable commencement in the way of provisions, and I hope satisfactory to you, it is always pleasing to myself as my own predictions on leaving Fort Simpson have been verified. The establishing the Youcon has, I believe, been attended with little expense comparing it to the west branch, and, were it not for the Russians I might promise would be no encumbrance on your district respecting provisions, if we had plenty of goods. You have sent me some pemmican, the principal part of which I intend taking with me this season, as I cannot depend much on the exertions of the Indians, they will be so dissatisfied that so few goods are brought, and I do believe the majority of them will not come near us after it is known, if an adequate outfit is sent, I will

take upon me to say, that no more pemmican need be forwarded to the Youcon, but until such outfit is received the more pemmican you send the better, and that may not suffice for the Indians are sure to forsake us and trade with our opponents, or with the intervening bands of Indians with whom they can have intercourse at all times, and then our trade both as regards furs and provisions will be done for.

A few men of the 'Hawkootchin' and other Indians arrived before I left and by all accounts I will not be able to trade *one half* of the furs already collected by the Indians, to be brought in on my return. A quantity of furs was left in store for beads and guns which I would have brought with me had I been certain of being able to pay for them on my return, but of that I was very uncertain, and therefore considered it prudent to leave them until they are traded. I know myself of upwards of twenty men who have furs for a gun *each* on my return. I could dispose of any quantity of guns this summer, and I do hope you will send as many as possible, the Indians all prefer our guns to those of the Russians. Guns and beads, beads and guns is all the cry in *our* country. Please to excuse me for repeating this so often, but I cannot be too importunate, the *rise* or *fall* of our establishment on the Youcon depends principally on the supply of these articles.

The returns of the first year of the Youcon, are twelve packs of furs, and a half ditto of deer skins, also a small box of castors, in all valued at £1557.15.3 sterling. This is not a large sum, but as much as I could collect with the goods I had. I will not say what it might have been, but if you give me an adequate outfit, I do believe that in a few years, we would equal Fort Simpson, that is if (and that *if* is an ugly word) we have full permission of the country. Since seeing the 'Hawkootchin' previous to my departure my ideas respecting clothing, are materially altered. These people, but *these* only seem very fond of our capots, they have promised to come in the fall for some of them, it would be well to send a respectable supply of 3½ and 4 ell capots, but few or none of a smaller size, white is the colour always demanded, also blankets, powder horns, files, axes, etc., etc., and once more allow me to request you to send plenty of ammunition and tobacco.

I had some more conversation with the Indians that arrived before we left, respecting the Russians, from what they all say it is my firm belief that we shall see the Russians this summer, they have been making every preparation on the *portage* to descend the river. The more I think on this subject I am at the greater loss how I shall act, but I hope to receive full instructions from you. They may order us to leave the country, perhaps try to force us from it should we persist in remaining, and I should be very sorry to involve the Company in any difficulty with our Russian neighbours. But I only received orders to establish a post in the Youcon, which is done, nothing was said concerning the Russians trade or territory, and it is my private determination to keep good our footing until decisive instructions are received.

I have now said quite enough, another page yet remains for a few lines on my arrival at L. House. I shall therefore take a two hours *nap* and proceed on in the voyage.

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Lapiers House.

Arrived here yesterday (June 23rd) with the furs, etc., all safe. The upper parts of the river is much lower than I expected, and unless it rises, I begin to fear that we shall have much difficulty in returning to the Youcon. The men from Peels River reached this at the same time as ourselves, and I find myself too much occupied to add anything more to this, *the longest yarn I ever spun*, and I must end abruptly.

I have now fulfilled my last promise to you, I have given you as full and particular account of the country etc etc. as is necessary, and am sorry that I had not leisure to write it more carefully.

I am, Dear Sir,

Most respectfully and sincerely yours,

A. H. MURRY.<sup>1</sup>

MURDO MCPHERSON, Esq.,<sup>2</sup>

etc., etc., etc.,

Fort Simpson.

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1. Alexander Hunter Murray.

2. Murdo, or Murdoch, McPherson, was at this time Chief Factor at Fort Simpson. Sir John Richardson found him there in 1848, and was indebted to him for much information as to the tribes, fauna and flora of the Mackenzie basin. He had already spent twenty years in the Mackenzie district, having reached the rank of Chief Factor in 1847.



## NOTES TO METEOROLOGICAL JOURNAL.

I need say very little more about the weather than what is contained in the foregoing Journal. The temperature of the atmosphere was regularly noted every day during the past eleven months, during summer at 6 o'clock a.m. and 6 p.m. and in winter as soon or as late as I was able to see, in the month of July at 1 p.m., but at all other times at noon or thereabouts.

It will be seen that I have in many places mentioned the day as being *calm* though the wind is noted as coming from a certain direction, in such case I was guided by the course of the smoke arising from the houses or by the clouds, although the wind could not be felt,

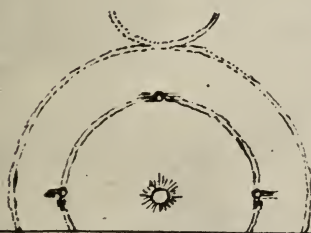
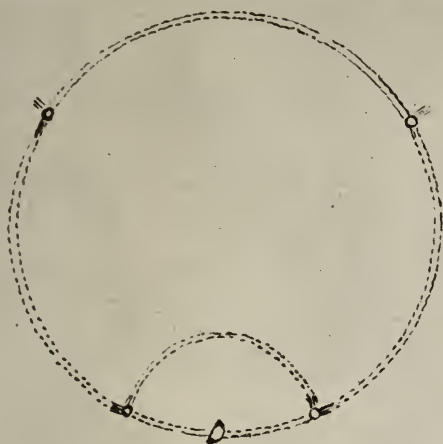
Parhelia, Solar and Lunar Halos and Coronae are very common in this part of the country, but I think not more so than at Peels River.

A remarkable phenomenon was noticed here at night on the 26th of July, viz., the reflection of the setting sun, in two different places in the *opposite* horizon about the same distance apart as the bases of a rainbow. The one to the west remained after the other disappeared, and kept rising as the sun sank, at one time it was nearly as bright as the real luminary. The evening was warm and sultry, and the sun reflected from dense copper coloured clouds.

A little past 6 p.m. on January 14th the moon represented the following appearance [see illustration] being reflected four times, the large circle extended one half of the heavens, the night was clear, no clouds to be seen except under the moon.

It will be seen that we have had some *very* cold weather; here the winter is much colder than at Peels River, at least while I was there, the thermometer was never below 53, here it was twice, as low as 58. There is less snow, and more clear and calm weather during winter here than at Peels River.

The river here, set fast on October 30th and broke up on May 14th. Last season, Peels River set fast in October 8th and broke up on May 20th.



A lunar phenomenon.



I took no note of the Aurora Borealis except when it was remarkably bright or beautiful, it is nearly as common here as the ' stars of the firmament ' being seen almost every clear night during winter, here as at Peels River it extends *generally* from North West to South East.

P.S. The weather during the month of June much resembled that of May, generally clear and dry, but several thunder storms and showers of rain.



# TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c., JULY, 1847.

DATE.	MORNING.		1 P. M.		EVENING.		Wind	Remarks.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
July 1.	61	.....	67	.. . . .	63	.....	W....	Thunder with vivid lightning; heavy showers of rain.
" 2.	63	.....	78	.....	62	.....	S. W.	Heavy peals of thunder, gusts of strong wind and showers of rain.
" 3.	57	.. . .	63	..	59	.....	S.E..	Cloudy, showery; steady and moderate winds.
" 4.	59	.....	72	.....	61	.....	N.E..	Clear. Strong wind, calmed at 7 p. m.
" 5.	59	.....	71	.....	65	.....	N.E..	Clear. Blowy forenoon; calmed after mid-day.
" 6.	62	.....	75	.....	63	.....	E.,..	Clear. Moderate wind.
" 7.	59	.. . .	82	.....	65	.....	S.E..	Rainy morning, calm noon; heavy squall and rain at 6 p. m.; afterwards calm.
" 8.	58	.....	77	.....	67	.....	S....	Rainy morning, light wind, passing showers.
" 9.	64	.. . .	84	.....	74	.....	E....	Clear and almost calm.
" 10.	75	.....	89	.....	82	.....	S.E..	Clear and almost calm; 90 above zero at 2 p.m.
" 11.	76	.....	88	.....	77	.....	S.E..	Clear and cloudy; light wind.
" 12.	72	.....	67	.....	65	.....	E....	Cloudy; thunder in forenoon; blowy afternoon.
" 13.	54	.....	62	.....	60	.....	N.E..	Rainy morning; cloudy and strong wind; calmed at 7 p. m.
" 14.	50	.. . .	65	.....	58	.....	N.E..	Cloudy; strong wind.
" 15.	52	.....	65	.....	64	.....	N....	Cloudy; moderate wind; beautiful rainbow at night.
" 16.	54	.....	68	.....	64	.....	S....	Cloudy; strong wind; calmed at 8 p. m.
" 17.	54	.....	65	.....	64	.....	S.W..	Cloudy; strong wind; showers of rain with heavy squalls.
" 18.	55	.....	72	.....	65	.....	W....	Cloudy; sunshine at intervals; strong and steady wind.
" 19.	58	.....	70	.. . .	69	.....	S.W..	Clear; blowing a gale all day.
" 20.	61	.....	72	.....	69	.....	S.W..	Passing showers; strong wind; sunshine and clouds.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c., JULY,  
1847,—*Concluded.*

DATE.	MORNING.		1 P. M.		EVENING.		Wind	Remarks.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
July 21.	61	.....	73	.....	69	....	W....	Clear ; strong wind ; increased to a gale after 6 p. m.
" 22.	60	.....	73	.....	69	.....	S.W..	Clear ; wind moderated at noon ; calm evening.
" 23.	61	.....	75	.....	72	.....	S.W..	Cloudy ; forenoon calm ; in the evening moderate wind.
" 24.	57	.....	68	....	63	.....	S.W..	Rainy morning ; strong wind and cloudy.
" 25.	59	.....	81	.....	74	....	W....	Clear ; moderate wind ; river rising.
" 26.	66	.....	82	.....	75	.....	W....	Clear ; calm afternoon ; sultry evening ; strange reflection of the sun ; <i>see notes.</i>
" 27.	68	.....	82	.....	73	.....	S.W..	Clear ; almost calm.
" 28.	65	....	81	.....	74	.....	W....	Clear ; pleasant breeze.
" 29.	71	.....	86	.....	79	.....	S.W..	Clear ; wind variable, but mostly calm ; river falling.
" 30.	73	.....	86	.....	80	.....	W....	Clear morning ; cloudy evening ; strong wind and rain during night.
" 31.	64	.....	82	.....	70	.....	W....	Cloudy ; moderate wind.

# TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c., AUGUST, 1847.

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		Wind	Remarks.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
Aug. 1.	62	.....	76	.....	65	.....	N.E..	Clear; light and changeable wind.
" 2.	61	.....	79	.....	65	.....	E....	Clear, almost calm; cloudy evening.
" 3.	61	.....	80	.....	68	.....	S.W..	Cloudy and showers of rain; blowing at night.
" 4.	62	.....	79	.....	68	.....	S.W..	Clear; strong wind.
" 5.	58	.....	70	.....	58	.....	W....	Thunder in the morning; Showery forenoon; afterwards a gale of wind.
" 6.	54	.....	65	.....	62	.....	W....	Cloudy; strong wind; distant thunder; heavy rain at night.
" 7.	58	.....	79	.....	68	.....	E....	Clear; light wind.
" 8.	64	.....	86	.....	69	.....	S.E..	" "
" 9.	62	.....	86	.....	72	.....	S....	" calm.
" 10.	60	.....	81	.....	72	.....	E....	" "
" 11.	58	.....	85	.....	72	.....	S....	" "
" 12.	57	.....	66	.....	64	.....	E....	Overcast; little wind.
" 13.	57	.....	79	.....	66	.....	E.&S.	Variable and light wind; in the afternoon, thunder.
" 14.	57	.....	73	.....	66	.....	S.E..	Cloudy; in the afternoon, strong and squally wind.
" 15.	56	.....	68	.....	63	.....	S.E..	Cloudy; light wind; distant thunder; rainy evening.
" 16.	56	.....	72	.....	58	.....	S.W. to N.	Cloudy; light and changeable wind; thunder.
" 17.	56	.....	72	.....	58	.....	W....	Cloudy; strong wind; showery afternoon.
" 18.	55	.....	57	.....	56	.....	W....	Cloudy; a gale of wind; showery.
" 19.	50	.....	58	.....	57	.....	W....	Clear and cloudy; strong wind.
" 20.	52	.....	68	.....	60	.....	N.W.	Clear; little wind.
" 21.	52	.....	70	.....	63	.....	W....	" "
" 22.	53	.....	68	.....	60	.....	N.W.	Cloudy; "

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c., AUGUST,  
1847.—*Concluded.*

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		Wind	Remarks.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
Aug. 23.	53	.....	88	.....	63	.....	W....	Clear ; little wind.
" 24.	54	.....	72	.....	65	.....	W....	" "
" 25.	54	.....	72	.....	46	.....	N. and N.E.	Clear ; calm until noon ; afterwards strong wind
" 26.	33	.....	68	.....	54	.....	N....	Clear ; strong wind ; ice on the small lake this morning.
" 27.	42	.....	68	.....	65	.....	N.E..	Clear ; moderate wind.
" 28.	45	.....	66	.....	60	.....	W....	Hazy and clear ; light wind.
" 29.	44	.....	67	.....	58	.....	E....	Clear ; light wind.
" 30.	38	.....	50	.....	44	.....	N.E..	Light and steady wind ; cloudy evening.
" 31.	36	.....	51	.....	44	.....	.....	Light and steady wind ; clear.



TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c., SEPTEMBER, 1847.

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		WIND	REMARKS.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
Sept. 1.	36	.....	64	.....	54	..	W....	Cloudy; light wind.
" 2.	40	.....	69	.....	60	.....	S.W..	Clear, calm morning; blowy afternoon.
" 3.	36	.....	64	.....	60	.....	S.W..	Strong wind; cloudy evening.
" 4.	36	.....	64	.....	55	.....	S.W..	Clear; blowing strong.
" 5.	40	.....	64	...	56	.....	S.W..	" light wind.
" 6.	42	.....	69	.....	56	.....	W....	" " rainy night.
" 7.	40	.....	65	.....	54	.....	S.W..	" " light rain in evening...
" 8.	37	.....	58	.....	50	.....	W....	Cloudy; " rainy night.
" 9.	36	.....	58	.....	46	.....	W....	Clear; moderate wind.
" 10.	30	...	55	.....	44	.....	S.W..	" light wind; hoar frost this morning.
" 11.	33	.....	55	...	45	.....	W....	" light wind.
" 12.	29	.....	48	...	39	.....	W....	" calm.
" 13.	25	.....	48	.....	37	...	W....	" "
" 14.	26	.....	49	.....	37	.....	S.W..	" "
" 15.	25	.....	49	.....	37	.....	N. W.	" light wind.
" 16.	28	.....	51	.....	41	.....	E....	" "
" 17.	25	.....	50	...	41	.....	E....	" "
" 18.	26	..	48	.....	40	...	S.W..	Cloudy; light wind; Aurora Borealis at night.
" 19.	26	.....	50	.....	41	.....	N....	Clear; calm.
" 20.	25	.....	48	.....	40	.....	S.W..	" light wind.
" 21.	25	.....	48	.....	44	.....	Eto N	" strong wind; cloudy evening.
" 22.	38	...	50	...	43	...	N.W..	" and cloudy; steady wind in the evening; rain.
" 23.	40	.....	52	.....	44	.....	N.W..	" and cloudy; light wind.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c., SEPTEMBER, 1847.—*Con.*

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		WIND	REMARKS.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
Sept. 24.	40	.....	50	.....	40	.....	N.W..	" and cloudy; moderate and steady wind.
" 25.	30	.....	40	.....	32	.....	N.....	Cloudy; strong wind; <i>snowing</i> .
" 26.	28	.....	40	.....	34	.....	N.....	Cloudy and clear; in the morning, snow; moderate wind.
" 27	27	.....	44	.....	32	.....	N.....	Clear; light wind.
" 28.	26	.....	44	.....	32	.....	E.....	Cloudy; light wind; Aurora Borealis very bright at midnight.
" 29.	23	.....	45	.....	34	.....	N.E..	Cloudy; light wind.
" 30.	24	.....	43	.....	32	.....	E.....	Clear; calm.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c., OCTOBER, 1847.

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		WIND	REMARKS.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
Oct. 1..	18	.....	42	.....	30	.....	E....	Clear and calm.
" 2..	15	.....	40	.....	28	.....	N....	"
" 3..	15	.....	38	.....	27	.....	N....	"
" 4..	16	.....	37	.....	30	.....	N. W.	Cloudy and calm.
" 5..	22	.....	36	.....	27	.....	N. W.	" morning; clear day; calm.
" 6..	24	.....	38	.....	31	.....	S. W.	Clear; calm.
" 7..	16	.....	33	.....	24	.....	.....	"
" 8..	20	.....	33	.....	27	.....	.....	"
" 9..	21	.....	33	.....	27	.....	E....	"
" 10..	19	.....	33	.....	27	.....	.....	"
" 11..	26	.....	32	.....	33	.....	N....	Strong wind with snow from 7 a.m. until noon; cloudy afternoon, but still blowing.
" 12..	33	.....	50	.....	38	.....	N. E..	Cloudy; moderate wind; violent shower of hail at 8 p. m.; a few falling stars from E. to West.
" 13..	25	.....	40	30	.....	.....	E....	Clear; light wind.
" 14..	32	.....	35	.....	33	.....	E....	Rain, snow and sleet all day; light wind.
" 15..	32	.....	40	.....	33	.....	N. W.	Soft snow all day; light wind.
" 16..	27	.....	34	.....	32	.....	W....	Cloudy; light snow showers and light wind.
" 17..	16	.....	29	.....	21	.....	N....	Clear; light wind.
" 18..	15	.....	33	.....	26	.....	N. E..	Clear and cloudy; light wind; snowy evening.
" 19..	16	.....	29	.....	26	.....	N. E..	Clear and cloudy; light wind; a few showers of snow.
" 20..	22	.....	30	.....	27	.....	E....	Clear and cloudy; light wind.
" 21..	14	.....	28	.....	13	.....	N....	Clear and calm.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c., OCTOBER, 1847.—*Con.*

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		Wind	REMARKS.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
Oct. 22..	3	.....	12	.....	4	.....	N. ...	Clear and calm; very red sky at night; ice drifting in the river; the back channels frozen over.
" 23..	...	3	15	.....	8	.....	N. E.	Hazy morning; moderate wind.
" 24..	...	5	15	...	14	.....	N. W.	Calm; clear day; cloudy evening.
" 25..	4	.....	21	.....	5	.....	N. E.	Calm and cloudy.
" 26..	10	.....	23	.....	18	.....	N. ...	Cloudy; strong wind; snowy evening.
" 27..	20	.....	28	.....	22	.....	W....	Cloudy; moderate wind; a little snow falling.
" 28..	15	.....	25	.....	18	...	W....	Cloudy; blowing a gale; calmed at sunset.
" 29..	20	.....	26	.....	20	.....	N.E...	Moderate wind; snowing lightly all day.
" 30..	20	.....	25	.....	19	...	W....	Moderate wind; snowing lightly; ice set fast on the river.
" 31..	4	.....	16	.....	10	.....	N.W.	Light wind; clear day; cloudy evening.



TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c.,  
NOVEMBER, 1847.

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		Wind.	Remarks.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
Nov. 1.	4	.....	25	.....	24	.....	W ...	Clear morning; calm; cloudy evening.
" 2.	15	.....	28	.....	25	....	S.W..	Cloudy; blowing, with snow; clear night Aurora Borealis very bright.
" 3.	.....	2	15	.....	3	.....	W ..	Clear; strong and sharp wind.
" 4.	.....	21	.....	10	.....	15	N.W.	Clear; and calm.
" 5.	.....	29	.....	15	.....	17	N....	Clear; but foggy; light wind.
" 6.	.....	25	.....	16	.....	19	N....	Clear; light wind.
" 7.	.....	15	.....	10	.....	13	W...	Clear and cloudy; light wind.
" 8.	.....	3	.....	19	.....	12	N.W.	Light snow falling all day; light wind.
" 9.	10	.....	10	.....	9	.....	E....	Strong wind; cloudy; snowing at night.
" 10.	10	.....	10	...	10	.....	E....	Moderate wind; cloudy.
" 11.	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	4	N.E..	Light wind; clear.
" 12.	.....	4	5	.....	4	.....	N.E..	Light wind; clear day; cloudy night; two bright mock suns seen all day.
" 13.	.....	4	4	.....	.....	3	N.E..	Light wind; cloudy; clear night.
" 14.	...	20	.....	15	.....	20	N....	Light wind; clear; bright Aurora Borealis.
" 15.	.....	24	.....	15	.....	12	W....	Calm and cloudy; snowing at night.
" 16.	.....	10	...	4	.....	9	W....	Light wind; cloudy; snowing lightly in the afternoon.
" 17.	...	10	.....	8	.....	10	W....	Light wind; snowing lightly all day.
" 18.	.....	15	.....	10	.....	14	N.W.	Calm and cloudy.
" 19.	.....	16	.....	14	...	23	N.E..	Calm and clear.
" 20.	.....	15	.....	9	.....	13	N.E..	Cloudy; strong wind in afternoon.
" 21.	...	5	.....	2	.....	2	E....	Cloudy; light wind.
" 22.	.....	12	.....	9	.....	10	N.E..	Cloudy; light wind.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c.,  
NOVEMBER, 1847.—*Concluded.*

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		Wind.	Remarks.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
" 23.	.....	4	.. . .	1	.....	2	E ....	Cloudy; light wind; snowing lightly all day.
" 24.	.....	10	.....	7	.....	9	N....	Cloudy and clear; light wind; strong wind at night.
" 25.	.....	4	.....	3	.....	3	N.E..	Cloudy; moderate wind; light snow falling all day; clear night; halo and image of the moon
" 26.	.....	25	.....	24	.....	26	.....	Clear and calm; bright Parhelia.
" 27.	.....	35	.....	34	.....	33	N&E.	Clear and light wind.
" 28.	.....	20	.....	18	. .	17	S.E..	Cloudy, and light wind; snowing a little in the morning.
" 29.	.....	10	..	8	.....	7	E....	Cloudy and light wind.
" 30.	.....	9	.....	8	.....	8	E. . .	" " Snow 13 inches deep.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c.,  
DECEMBER, 1847.

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		Wind.	Remarks.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
Dec. 1.	.....	5	.....	4	.....	4	W....	Cloudy and little wind.
" 2.	.....	4	.....	4	.....	4	N.E..	" snowing lightly; clear night.
" 3.	.....	19	.....	17	.....	13	N....	Cloudy and clear; little wind.
" 4.	.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	S.W..	Cloudy; little wind.
" 5.	.....	10	.....	4	.....	4	W....	Clear morning; afterwards cloudy; light wind.
" 6.	.....	4	.....	2	.....	2	S.W..	Cloudy and calm.
" 7.	21	.....	22	.....	22	.....	S....	Cloudy; very strong wind, veered to the S. W. after midday and increased to a gale; continued all night.
" 8.	10	.....	8	.....	6	.....	W....	Cloudy; light wind; clear night.
" 9.	.....	10	.....	10	.....	11	S.W..	Clear; strong wind after mid-day.
" 10.	.....	24	.....	25	.....	26	W....	Clear; light wind; bright Aurora Borealis.
" 11.	.....	42	.....	41	.....	41	N....	Clear, but foggy; light wind.
" 12.	.....	49	.....	47	.....	47	N.W.	Clear, but foggy; almost calm.
" 13.	.....	48	.....	47	.....	47	N....	Foggy morning; clear and calm.
" 14.	.....	50	.....	49	.....	49	NtoS	Clear; light and variable wind.
" 15.	.....	51	.....	50	.....	50	.....	Clear; dead calm.
" 16.	.....	45	.....	43	.....	43	N.W.	Clear and calm.
" 17.	.....	35	.....	34	.....	32	N....	Cloudy; light wind.
" 18.	.....	31	.....	29	.....	26	S....	" "
" 19.	.....	23	.....	22	.....	20	N....	Cloudy; calm.
" 20.	.....	13	.....	11	.....	10	S.W..	Cloudy; moderate wind.
" 21.	.....	15	.....	20	.....	25	N.W.	Clear and calm.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c.,  
DECEMBER, 1847.—*Concluded.*

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		Wind.	Remarks.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
Dec. 22. ....		10	.....	7	.....	5	N.E..	Cloudy ; light wind ; hazy but clear night ; large lunar halo.
" 23. ....		7	.....	1	5	...	N.W.	Snowing lightly all day ; little wind.
" 24. ....		.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	Calm and overcast.
" 25. ....		7	.....	5	.....	5	W....	Cloudy ; steady and rather strong wind.
" 26. ....		20	.....	22	.....	25	S.W..	Clear morning ; light wind ; cloudy evening.
" 27. ....		18	.....	17	.....	17	.....	Calm and overcast.
" 28. ....		8	.....	7	.....	7	....	Calm ; snowing lightly all day ; clear night.
" 29. ....		18	.....	17	.....	16	N.W.	Cloudy day ; light wind ; bright Aurora Borealis.
" 30. ....		33	.....	34	.....	35	W....	Calm and clear.
" 31. ....		42	.....	39	....	38	W....	Calm and clear ; snow 21 inches deep.



TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c.,  
JANUARY, 1848.

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		Wind	Remarks.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
Jan. 1.	.....	38	.....	35	.....	33	W....	Clear morning; overcast afternoon; a little snow at night.
" 2.	.....	27	.....	25	.....	24	.....	Calm and overcast.
" 3.	.....	22	.....	24	.....	23	N. ...	Calm and clear at noon; again overcast.
" 4.	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	3	S.W..	Light wind; snowing in forenoon; afternoon clear; blowing strong and snowing at night.
" 5.	.....	5	.....	5	.....	6	.....	Calm and overcast; a little snow fell in the morning.
" 6.	.....	30	.....	34	.....	32	.....	Calm and clear.
" 7.	.....	22	.....	17	.....	15	W....	Calm and overcast.
" 8.	.....	5	.....	7	.....	9	S.W..	Moderate wind; clear afternoon.
" 9.	.....	7	1	.....	.....	2	W....	Overcast; strong wind toward evening; blowing a gale at night; wind shifted to south.
" 10.	15	.....	17	..	18	.....	S....	Strong wind and snowing.
" 11.	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	S.W..	Moderate and steady wind; clear; halo round the moon.
" 12.	.....	22	.....	15	.....	13	N....	Clear; began to blow at 10 a.m.; two false suns seen all day.
" 13.	.....	42	.....	40	.....	41	E....	Clear; light winds.
" 14.	.....	29	.....	26	.....	27	S.E. to N.	Overcast and light wind; clear evening; remarkable circle and images of the moon. <i>See note.</i>
" 15.	.....	38	.....	35	...	31	N... .	Calm; light snow in very small particles.
" 16.	.....	46	.....	44	.....	45	.....	Calm and clear; fog on the river.
" 17.	.....	50	.....	45	.....	44	N....	Calm and clear; thick fog.
" 18.	.....	52	.....	50	.....	49	S.E..	Calm and clear.
" 19.	.....	54½	.....	50	.....	51	N....	Calm and clear.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c.,  
JANUARY, 1848—*Concluded.*

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		Wind	Remarks.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
Jan. 20.	....	54	.....	51	.....	17	N. to N.E.	Foggy morning; commenced to blow strong after midday; clouds collecting.
" 21.	.....	12	.....	14	.....	13	N....	Cloudy; blowy morning; calm afternoon.
" 22.	.....	10	....	10	.....	11	S.W..	Snow with strong wind until noon; afternoon clear with moderate wind; Aurora Borealis very bright.
" 23.	.....	15	...	7	.....	8	N.E..	Overcast; light wind.
" 24.	.....	19	.....	10	.....	12	W....	Light, raw wind; clear morning, cloudy evening.
" 25.	....	32	.....	31	.....	30	W....	Light wind; clear; hazy evening.
" 26.	.....	48	....	47	.....	47	....	Clear and calm; very foggy morning.
" 27.	.....	48	.....	47	....	46	N.W..	Clear morning, almost calm; overcast afternoon; light snow in the evening.
" 28.	.....	51	.....	46	.....	48	E....	Clear, light wind.
" 29.	...	53½	.....	50	....	52	.....	Clear but foggy; calm; beautiful Aurora Borealis.
" 30.	.....	58	....	51	.....	25	N....	Foggy morning; calm and clear; commenced to blow afternoon; wind fell at 7 p.m.
" 31.	....	54	.....	46	.....	47	E....	Foggy morning; calm and clear. Snow 27 inches.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c.,  
FEBRUARY, 1848.

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		Wind	Remarks.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
Feb. 1.	.....	53	.....	46	.....	47	.....	Calm and clear; foggy morning and evening.
" 2.	.....	55	.....	47	.....	49	S.W.	Calm and clear; foggy all day.
" 3.	.....	46	.....	41	.....	42	...	Calm, becoming cloudy in the evening.
" 4.	.....	55	.....	45	.....	47	.....	Calm and clear; foggy as usual.
" 5.	.....	36	.....	35	.....	39	W...	Calm and clear; light snow in the morning.
" 6.	.....	35	.....	30	.....	30	S.W.	Calm and overcast; a little snow fell in the forenoon.
" 7.	...	26	.....	22	.....	28	S.E.	Light wind; cloudy; clearing up towards night.
" 8.	.....	35	.....	32	...	38	.....	Calm and clear.
" 9.	.....	56	.....	46	.....	48	.....	Calm and clear; fog on the river.
" 10.	.....	58½	.....	46	.....	48	N. ...	Calm and clear; light wind in the evening.
" 11.	.....	53	...	42	.....	44	...	Calm and clear.
" 12.	...	50	.....	42	.....	37	...	Calm and clear; cloudy evening.
" 13.	.....	36	.....	32	...	34	W. ...	Light wind; cloudy.
" 14.	.....	26	.....	25	.....	25	.....	Calm and cloudy.
" 15.	.....	22	.....	12	.....	18	S.E.	Calm and cloudy; clear evening.
" 16.	.....	25	.....	21	.....	19	.....	Calm and cloudy; clear evening.
" 17.	.....	20	.....	10	.....	12	.....	Calm and cloudy; halo around the moon.
" 18.	...	22	.....	12	..	10	N. ...	Calm and cloudy; commenced to blow in the evening; combined lunar halo and corona.
" 19.	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	2	N.W.	Calm and clear and cloudy; blowing at night.
" 20.	...	5	.....	4	.....	4	W....	Strong wind; cloudy; clear night; beautiful Aurora Borealis.
" 21.	.....	35	.....	15	.....	13	N. ...	Light wind; clear.
" 22.	.....	23	.....	14	.....	12	N. ...	Light wind; clear; cloudy evening.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c.,  
FEBRUARY, 1848—*Concluded.*

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		Wind	Remarks.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
Feb. 23. ....		6	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	Calm ; clear and cloudy.
" 24. ....		5	10	.....	8	.....	S.W..	Calm ; snowing lightly in forenoon.
" 25. 8	.....		.....	4	.....	9	S.W..	Blowing a gale all day ; snowing ; clear evening.
" 26. ....		15	.....	14	.....	14	S.W..	Strong wind ; clear.
" 27. ....		22	.....	12	.....	9	.....	Calm and clear morning afterwards cloudy.
" 28. ....		33	.....	22	.....	15	N.W.	Calm and clear.
" 29. ....		36	.....	23	.....	19	.....	" "

Snow drifted so much that it is difficult to ascertain the exact depth. The average may be 32 inches.



## TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &amp;c., MARCH, 1848.

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		WIND	REMARKS.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
March 1	.....	25	.....	13	....	14	.....	Calm and Cloudy.
" 2	.....	33	.....	14	.....	14	E....	" and clear at 3 p.m; Ther. 9 below 0.
" 3	.....	33	.....	13	.....	13	.....	Calm and clear.
" 4	.....	33	.....	4	.....	1	N.E..	Clear; blowing strong after 10 a.m.
" 5	.....	10	5	.....	2	.....	N.E..	Clear; blowing strong al day.
" 6	.....	10	4	.....	.....	.....	N.E..	" " "
" 7	..	19	.....	7	.....	5	.....	Clear and calm
" 8	.....	30	.....	7	....	13	....	" "
" 9	.....	29	.....	5	.....	10	S.W..	" " cloudy evening.
" 10	..	10	.....	5	.....	8	S.W..	Clear; light wind; a little snowfall during the night.
" 11	....	31	.....	10	.....	15	N.E..	Clear; light wind; halo round the moon.
" 12	.....	37	.....	10	.....	15	.....	Clear and calm.
" 13	.....	37	.....	10	.....	14	.....	Clear and calm; one false sun seen in the fore- noon; halo round the moon.
" 14	.....	28	.....	6	.....	10	N.W.	Clear; light wind; cloudy evening.
" 15	.....	30	.....	10	.....	14	S.W..	Clear and calm.
" 16	.....	30	....	10	.....	15	.....	" "
" 17	.....	27	.....	12	.....	15	.....	" " halo round the moon.
" 18	.....	36	.....	10	.....	12	N.E..	Clear and calm; clouds collecting at night.
" 19	.....	23	.....	10	....	13	W....	Cloudy; light wind; clear evening.
" 20	.....	18	.....	3	.....	13	N....	Snowing lightly in fore- noon; light wind; bright; Parhelia all day.
" 21	.....	19	.....	7	.....	13	.....	Clear and calm.
" 22	.....	12	3	.....	.....	2	N.W.	Cloudy; light wind.
" 23	.....	10	3	.....	.....	7	.....	Cloudy and calm; clear evening.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c., MARCH, 1848.  
—*Concluded.*

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		WIND	REMARKS.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
Mar. 24	.....	8	12	.....	.....	5	N.E..	Strong wind; snowing lightly all day.
" 25	.....	7	5	.....	.....	5	S.W..	Light wind.
" 26	3	.....	15	.....	7	.....	W....	Cloudy; blowing a gale after midday.
" 27	.....	10	15	.....	7	.....	S.W..	Blowing strong; wind shifted to west after noon; snowy evening.
" 28	10	.....	22	.....	24	.....	W....	Blowing a gale; clear evening.
" 29	5	.....	28	.....	20	.....	N....	Cloudy afternoon; blowing strong at night.
" 30	10	.....	15	.....	5	.....	.....	Calm and clear.
" 31	.....	10	10	.....	7	.....	W....	Light wind and clear.

Snow much *packed* and decreasing in depth.

## TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &amp;c., APRIL, 1848.

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		WIND	REMARKS.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
April 1	.....	2	7	.....	7	.....	S.W.	Strong wind; snowing.
" 2	....	7	5	.....	7	.....	N.E.	Light wind; clear.
" 3	.....	28	....	10	..	7	N....	" "
" 4	.....	26	....	8	.....	3	N....	Strong wind "
" 5	.....	10	....	3	.....		N....	" " clear; calm evening.
" 6	.....	10	.....	1	.....		N.E.	Strong wind; clear.
" 7	.....	16	.....	2	.....	4	.....	Calm; clear.
" 8	.....	15	....	5	.....	4	N....	Light wind; clear.
" 9	.....	26	2	.....	5	.....	W....	" cloudy.
" 10	.....	8	5	....	15	.....	N ..	" " light snow during night.
" 11	2	.....	29	.....	20	.....	N.E.	Light wind; cloudy; Parhelia in forenoon.
" 12	11	....	32	.....	30	.....	N.E.	Light wind; cloudy; Ther. 40 above at 4 p.m.; Parhelia and halo round the sun this morning.
" 13	22	....	32	.....	32	..	N.W. to S.	Light and variable wind; snowing all day.
" 14	10	.....	22	....	25	..	W....	Strong wind and clear.
" 15	.....	1	15	.....	27	.....	.....	Calm and clear; Parhelia in forenoon.
" 16	12	.....	31	....	32	.....	N.W.	Light wind; cloudy morning; clear evening.
" 17	5	....	28	.....	25	.....	.....	Calm and clear; remarkable halo and Parhelia; see note.
" 18	8	.....	15	.....	18	.....	N.W.	Strong wind; clear.
" 19	2	..	18	.....	15	.....	W....	" "
" 20	..	3	18	.....	18	....	W....	Light wind "
" 21	8	....	27	.....	28	.....	N.W.	" "
" 22	8	....	27	....	28	.....	N.E.	Strong wind "
" 23	15	.....	30	.....	30	....	N.E.	" cloudy.
" 24	12	....	20	.....	20	.....	N....	" snowing after midday.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c., APRIL, 1848.  
—*Concluded.*

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		WIND	REMARKS.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
April 25	14	.....	22	.....	24	.....	N....	Snowy forenoon ; strong wind ; two mock suns and halo round the sun in the afternoon.
" 26	18	... ..	33	.....	43	.....	N....	Calm ; clear and cloudy .
" 27	28	.....	49	.....	52	.....	.	Calm ; cloudy morning ; clear evening.
" 28	28	..	52	.....	54	... ..	N. E..	Clear ; pleasant breeze.
" 29	34	.....	48	.....	45	.....	W....	" " cloudy evening.
" 30	35	.....	45	.....	48		E ....	Clear ; strong wind.



## TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &amp;c., MAY, 1848

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		WIND	REMARKS.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
May 1..	30	.....	45	.....	42	.....	N.E..	Strong wind ; cloudy and clear.
" 2..	28	.....	45	.....	39	.....	N.E..	Light wind ; clear.
" 3..	28	.....	46	...	47	.....	N.E..	Very light wind ; clear.
" 4..	30	.....	39	...	34	.....	E....	Strong wind ; clear.
" 5..	18	.....	33	.....	30	.....	E....	" " calm evening.
" 6..	24	.....	30	.....	31	.....	E....	Strong wind ; clear.
" 7..	23	...	30	.....	30	.....	N.E..	" snowing lightly all day.
" 8..	26	.....	32	...	33	.....	N.E..	Strong wind ; heavy snow ; calmed at 7 p.m.
" 9..	30	.....	43	.....	47	.....	S.W. to N.E.	Light and variable wind ; clear ; river rising.
" 10..	30	...	40	.....	42	...	N.E..	Moderate wind ; clear ; river rising.
" 11..	26	.....	39	..	40	.....	N.E..	Strong wind ; clear ; river rising.
" 12..	24	.....	33	.....	30	.....	N.E..	Blowing a gale ; cloudy ; river subsiding.
" 13..	29	.....	45	.....	48	.....	S.W..	Very light wind ; clear ; river rising.
" 14..	41	.....	51	.....	49	.....	N.E..	Strong wind ; cloudy morning ; clear evening ; the river broke up this afternoon.
" 15..	41	.....	54	..	51	.....	N.E..	Light wind ; clear.
" 16..	33	...	45	.....	42	.....	W....	Strong wind ; cloudy.
" 17..	34	.....	43	.....	44	.....	W....	" clear and cloudy.
" 18..	39	.....	53	...	50	.....	W. to E.	Clear and squally.
" 19..	42	.....	54	.....	55	...	E....	Light wind ; clear.
" 20..	46	.....	56	...	63	.....	.....	Calm ; clear day ; sultry and cloudy evening.
" 21..	49	.....	68	.....	66	...	E....	Variable and light wind ; clear ; ther. at 72 at 3 p.m.
" 22..	50	.....	66	.....	63	.....	N.E..	Strong wind ; clear.
" 23..	48	.....	67	.....	67	...	N.E..	Moderate wind ; clear.
" 24..	47	.....	58	.....	57	.....	N.E..	Strong wind ; clear.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE, &c., MAY, 1848.—  
—*Concluded.*

DATE.	MORNING.		NOON.		EVENING.		WIND	REMARKS.
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below		
" 25..	44	.....	50	. . .	46	....	N.E to E.	Variable wind ; clear ; calm evening.
" 26..	40	.....	50	. . .	49	....	E ....	Strong wind ; clear.
" 27..	44	.....	56	.. . . .	54	.....	E ....	Pleasant breeze ; clear ; calm evening.
" 28..	44	.....	54	.....	49	.....	E ....	Strong wind ; cloudy and clear.
" 29..	45	.....	56	.....	62	.....	S. ....	Very light wind ; cloudy and clear ; a slight shower of rain at 2 p.m.
" 30..	51	.....	62	.....	68	.....	S.E ..	Squally aud calm ; a shower of rain.
" 31..	52	. . .	70	.....	66	.....	S.E ..	Squally ; a heavy shower of rain in the afternoon.











# THE PRECURSORS OF JACQUES CARTIER 1497-1534

A COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE  
EARLY HISTORY

OF THE

DOMINION OF CANADA

EDITED BY

H. P. BIGGAR, B.LITT.

OF THE ARCHIVES BRANCH

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## PREFACE

In this volume an attempt has been made to bring together for the first time and to render accessible in English form the chief manuscript sources of the earliest history of Canada. The majority of these documents have appeared in print already, but the texts here given have, wherever possible, been either copied from or collated with the original manuscripts. In some few cases facsimiles have been used.

The translations are in every case new, and in view of the publication of the original Latin, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, a somewhat free rendering has been adopted. It has not been considered necessary to translate the French documents.

From these sources and from the printed volumes and atlases listed in the appendix has been compiled the introduction. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the material available this is necessarily an incomplete story. Many of the statements in the same are purely conjectural and must be considered as nothing more than working hypotheses. As such it is hoped that they may stimulate the interests or arouse the curiosity of fresh investigators. Should such a result follow, and the narrow bounds of our knowledge of early Canadian history be in consequence extended, one of the main objects of this volume will have been achieved.

It is with gratitude and with pleasure that the editor acknowledges the valuable assistance of many friends and scholars. To Mr. Hubert Hall, F.S.A., author of the standard work on the English archives, and to Dr. S. E. Dawson, C.M.G., whose labours have contributed so materially to the elucidation



of the Cabot voyages, especial thanks are due for much help and counsel. In the transcription of the documents that follow, Sr. D. Pedro Torres Lanzas of the Archivo de Indias at Seville, Sr. Pedro A. d'Azevedo of the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon, Sr. D. Julian Paz of the Archivo General de Simancas, and Cav. Giovanni Ognibene of the Archivio di Stato at Modena, were of great assistance during the editor's visits to those places. He wishes also to thank Mr. E. H. Pooley, Clerk of the Drapers' Company, for permission to examine that company's records. One of the Frari manuscripts was kindly collated by Monsieur J. Plattard, Docteur ès Lettres; while in the translation of the Spanish and Portuguese documents the editor received much help from the expert knowledge of Monsieur R. Foulché-Delbosc, of Paris, the editor of the *Revue Hispanique*. Mr. S. V. Blake, of Trosley, Kent, has been good enough to read the Introduction, which with the remainder of the volume, has been improved by the criticisms of Drs. Doughty and Roy of the Archives Branch. To each and all of the above the editor here expresses his warmest thanks.

H. P. B.

London, 5 November, 1910.

## INTRODUCTION

The European explorer who at the close of the fifteenth century<sup>1</sup> first sighted that portion of North America subsequently called Canada was Giovanni Caboto, of Genoa<sup>2</sup>. Of Cabot's early life nothing is known. We hear of him first in 1461 when he removed from Genoa and took up his residence in Venice, probably on account of the numerous factories maintained by that republic throughout the Levant. On one of his trading voyages to the eastern Mediterranean, Cabot, who in 1476 was naturalized a Venetian citizen,<sup>3</sup> made his way via Alexandria and the Red Sea to, as he asserts, Mecca,<sup>4</sup> which city was then the greatest mart in the world for the exchange of the goods of the west for those of the east. On inquiry whence came the (spices, perfumes, silks and precious stones offered at Mecca for barter, Cabot was informed that they were brought by caravan from the northeastern part of further Asia.<sup>5</sup> Being versed in a knowledge of the sphere, it occurred to him that this merchandise might be transported to Europe by sailing straight across the western ocean. Compared with the long camel route from northeastern Asia to Mecca and thence to Alexandria and Venice, the voyage by water from Asia to Europe would effect a veritable revolution in trade. The first step in such a change was to find the course across the western ocean from Europe to Asia.

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1. For an account of the voyages of the Northmen, vid. A. M. Reeves, *The Finding of Vineland the Good*, London, 1890; and J. E. Olson, *The Voyages of the Northmen* in Volume I. of the *Original Narratives of Early American History*, edited by J. F. Jameson, New York, 1906.

2. H. Harrisse, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 13-35, Paris, 1882.

3. After fifteen yers' residence or domicile. Vid. Doc. IIA., p. 1.

4. Doc. XA., p. 20.

5. Ibid.

Filled with this idea, Cabot about the year 1484 made his way in the Venetian galleys to England, and settled in London.<sup>1</sup> In course of time his plans were made known to the merchants of Bristol, from which port an extensive trade was then carried on with Iceland.<sup>2</sup> It was decided that an attempt should be made first of all to find the island of Brazil or that of the Seven Cities, which on most medieval maps were placed to the west of Ireland.<sup>3</sup> Such islands might form the stepping stones of the new path to Asia across the western sea.

Vessels were despatched from Bristol in 1491 and 1492, presumably under Cabot's direction, to find the island of Brazil or that of the Seven Cities, but to no purpose.<sup>4</sup> No land of any sort could be seen. It looked as if this venture might have as unsuccessful an issue as that made from the same port in 1480.<sup>5</sup>

When matters were in this state news reached England in the summer of 1493 that another Genoese, Christopher Columbus, had sailed from Spain westward with three ships, and had reached the Indies. Great excitement prevailed at the English court.<sup>6</sup> Interest in Cabot's plan was augmented by a visit which Henry VII. and his court paid to Bristol in the

1. Doc. LXIA., p. 183, and Sebastian Cabot himself in Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, vol. I., Venetia, 1550, fol. 402v: " & mi disse che sendosi partito suo padre da Venetia già molti anni, & andato à stare in Inghilterra à far mercantie lo menò seco nella città di Londra," etc. At one period John Cabot lived " within the Blackfriars." Cf. W. Strachey, *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, etc., p. 6, London, (Hakluyt Society), 1849.

2. *Revue Hispanique*, tome X, pp. 534 et seq. Paris, 1903; and Eden's *Decades of the newe worlde* in E. Arber's, *First Three English Books on America*, p. 288, marginal note. London, 1895.

3. *Ibid.* p. 520, note 3.

4. Doc. XIVA., p. 28.

5. Willelmi de Worcestre, *Itinerarium* edited by Jacob. Nasmith, pp. 267-8, Cantab, 1778; printed in HARRISSE, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 44, note 3, and in his *Discovery of North America*, p. 659, N<sup>o</sup>. XIII, London, 1892.

6. Ramusio, op. cit. loc. cit.: " In quel tempo.....venne nova che'l signor don Christophoro Colombo, Genovese, havea scoperta la costa dell'Indie & se ne parlava grandemente per tutta la corte del Re Henrico VII. che allhora regnava, dicendosi che era state cosa piu tosto divina che humana l'haver trovata quella via mai piu saputa, d'andare in Oriente, dove nascono la spetie."

winter of 1495-6.<sup>1</sup> As a result, letters patent were issued on 5 March, 1496,<sup>2</sup> whereby Henry VII. granted to his 'wel-beloved John Cabot, citizen of Venice, to Lewis, Sebastian and Santius, sonnes of the said John, full and free authority, leave and power to saile to all parts, countries and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North, under our banners and ensignes, with five ships, of what burthen soever they be, and as many mariners or men as they will have with them in the said ships, upon theyr owne proper costs and charges, to seeke out, discover and finde whatsoever isles, countries, regions or provinces of the heathen and infidels, in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time, have beene unknowen to all Christians.' 'In every village, towne, castle, isle or mainland of them newly found' the king's 'banners and ensignes' were to be displayed. Furthermore, 'as often as they shall arrive at our port of Bristol, at the which port they shall be holden only to arrive,' they were to pay unto the king, after deduction of their necessary expenses, 'the fifth part of the gain of all fruits, profits, gaines and commodities growing of such navigation.' Everything brought from the new lands was to pass the customs free of duty; and no one might visit those regions 'without the license of the foresayd John and his sonnes.'

Armed with these powers, John Cabot prepared to set sail for the coast of Asia. In June, 1496, Columbus had returned from his second expedition, bringing gold and tropical merchandise. High hopes were held that Cabot would meet with a like success. On Tuesday, 2 May, 1497, in command of a vessel called the *Mathew*, manned by eighteen men, he finally set sail from Bristol.<sup>3</sup>

Rounding Ireland, he steered first north and then west.

1. Robert Ricart, *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, p. 48, London, (Camden Society), 1872.

2. Docs. III. and IVa., pp. 6 and 8.

3. Docs. Xa., and LXIII., pp. 20 and 194-5.



During several weeks of variable winds their course was irregular, although steadily westward.<sup>1</sup> At length after being fifty-two days at sea, about five o'clock on Saturday morning, 24 June, they sighted what from the La Cosa and Sebastian Cabot maps would appear to have been the western extremity of Cape Breton island.<sup>2</sup>

With the royal banner unfurled, John Cabot set foot on land, and in solemn form took possession of the country in the name of King Henry VII. The soil being found fertile and the climate temperate, Cabot was convinced that he had reached the northeastern extremity of Asia, whence came the silks and spices which had been displayed for barter at Mecca. No people were observed, but some snares set for game and a notch here and there among the trees showed that the country was inhabited.<sup>3</sup> ~~Cape Breton~~ was christened Cape Discovery, and the day being the festival of St. John the Baptist, they gave to Scatari island, which lies a few miles from the shore, the name of the island of St. John.<sup>4</sup>

Wood and water having been taken on board, preparations were made to return home with the good news. Cape Ray, which at a distance is most conspicuous, Cabot named apparently St. George's cape, while to St. Pierre and Miquelon, which with Langlade then formed three separate islands, he gave the name of the Trinity group.<sup>5</sup> Along this southern coast of Newfoundland the explorers met great schools of cod,

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1. Doc. XA., p. 20.

2. The La Cosa, Cabot and Michael Lok maps in A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, N° XLIII. Stockholm, 1897; Harrisse, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, frontispiece; and Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, 55, London, 1850; *Notes and Queries*, 8 ser. XI., 501; and Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 511, London, 1589. Cf. Dr. S. E. Dawson, *The Voyages of the Cabots in 1497 and 1498*, Montreal, 1894, and his *Latest Phases of the Controversy*, Ottawa, 1897.

3. Docs. VIIA. and XA., pp. 14 and 20.

4. Doc. LXIII., p. 194, and Hakluyt, op. cit. loc. cit. Although according to Jean Alfonse (*Cosmographie*, Musset's edit., pp. 499 and 502), both St. Paul and Scatari islands bore this name, all the maps except the Cabot map place the island near Cape Breton. Cf. the Reinel, Maggiolo, Riccardiana, Santa-Cruz, Harleian, Gutierrez and Vaz Dourado maps.

5. La Cosa's map.

which the sailors caught merely by lowering baskets into the water and hauling them up again full of fish.<sup>1</sup> Cape Race, the last land seen, they christened England's cape.<sup>2</sup>

The prevailing winds in the North Atlantic being from the west, the return voyage was made without difficulty, and on Sunday, 6 August, the *Mathew* dropped anchor once more in Bristol harbour.<sup>3</sup> Cabot hastened to court, and on Thursday, 10 August, received from the king a present of ten pounds (\$600) for having 'found the new isle.'<sup>4</sup> Cabot reported that some 700 leagues beyond Ireland he had reached the country of the Grand Khan. Now that the course was known the voyage could be made in a fortnight. Although both silk and brazilwood were to be obtained at the spot where he had landed, it was his intention on his next voyage to proceed further south along that coast until he came to Cipangu or Japan, in his opinion the cradle of all riches of the East. Once Cipangu had been reached, London would become a greater dépôt for species than Alexandria itself.<sup>5</sup>

Henry VII. was delighted, and promised Cabot in the spring a large fleet with which to sail to Cipangu. Meanwhile the discoverer was given a pension of \$20, equivalent in modern currency to about \$1,200.<sup>6</sup> Part of this largesse Cabot spent on a new silk doublet and hose. Dressed in these, he allowed himself to be lionized during the winter by the rich merchants of London.<sup>7</sup>

Fresh letters patent were issued on 3 February, 1498, by which Cabot was empowered to 'take at his pleasure vi englishe shippes and theym convey and lede to the londe and

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1. Doc. XA., p. 20.

2. La Cosa's map.

3. LXIII., p. 195.

4. Doc. VI., p. 12.

5. Docs. VIIA. and XA., pp. 14 and 20-21.

6. Doc. IX., p. 16.

7. Docs. VIIA. and XA., pp. 14 and 21.

iles of late founde by the said John."<sup>1</sup> Henry VII. furthermore himself advanced considerable sums of money to various members of the expedition.<sup>2</sup> As success seemed assured, it was hoped the ships would return laden with the riches of the East.

On a visit paid by Cabot to Lisbon and to Seville, to engage the services of men who had sailed to the East with Da Gama or who had navigated with Columbus to the Indies,<sup>3</sup> he appears to have met a certain João Fernandez, called *llavrador*, who about the year 1492 had made his way from Iceland to Greenland.<sup>4</sup> As Greenland, which was then thought to form part of Asia, lay so near Iceland, Cabot, from the scanty evidence available, would seem to have made up his mind to steer a more northerly course on this voyage.

Early in May, the expedition, which consisted of two ships and 300 men, set sail from Bristol.<sup>5</sup> Several vessels in the habit of trading to Iceland appear to have accompanied them.<sup>6</sup> Off Ireland, a storm forced one of these to return; but the fleet proceeded on its way along the parallel of 58°. <sup>7</sup> The further they advanced the more they were carried to the north by the Gulf Stream. At length early in June Cabot sighted the east coast of Greenland.<sup>8</sup> Fernandez having been the first to tell him in this country, he named it 'the Labrador's land.'<sup>9</sup>

In the hope of discovering an opening westward, Cabot first followed the coast towards the north. Gradually the cold became

1. Doc. XIa., p. 23.

2. Doc. VI., p. 12.

3. Doc. XIVa., p. 28.

4. Docs. XXIXa., XXXIa. and LXIIa., pp. 99, 101 and 190.

5. E. Arber, *The first three English Books on America*, p. 161.

6. Doc. XXX., pp. 99-100.

7. Doc. XIVa., p. 28.

8. Francisco Lopez de Gomara, *Istoria de las Indias*, Caragoza, 1552, fol. xxv: "camino la buelta de Islandia sobre cabo del Labrador." Cf. F. Tarducci, *Di Gioranni e Sebastiano Caboto*, etc., p. 112, Venezia, 1892.

9. The inscription on Greenland on the Wolfenbüttel map in Harisse, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 186. This map has been reproduced in the collection published by Professor E. L. Stevenson of Rutgers College.

more intense and the icebergs grew more numerous and massive. It was also observed that the land trended back towards the east. For these reasons on 11 June, in latitude  $67^{\circ} 30'$ , the crews mutinied and refused to proceed further in the direction of the pole. Cabot had no alternative but to put his ships about and seek for an opening further south.<sup>1</sup>

On reaching cape Farewell the ships were headed along the southwest coast of Greenland, which little by little curves towards the north. Cabot appears to have navigated his ships up this west coast of Greenland as far as the present Sukkertoppen district in  $66^{\circ}$ , where further progress was checked by the icebergs that come down from Disko bay. Throughout its whole length this coast presents a series of precipitous and lofty headlands that arise at times to a height of 4,000 feet. On meeting these icebergs, Cabot altered his course to the west, and at length came in sight of Baffin's land, at that point distant from Greenland only 150 miles.

Sailing southward along this coast, which is described as mountainous, rugged, bleak and barren, the explorer at length reached Hudson's strait, which bounds Baffin's land on the south.<sup>2</sup> Proceeding down the coast of our modern Labrador, in Cabot's belief the Asiatic mainland, he must have been surprised and disappointed to find that the Indians had nothing better to offer for barter than furs and fish.<sup>3</sup>

Our strait of Belle-Isle was mistaken for an ordinary bay, and the eastern coast of Newfoundland for the continuation of the main shore already explored to the north. Cabot was much struck by 'the greate plentie of beares' along this coast 'which

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1. Ramusio, op. cit. III., Venetia, 15561 fol. 4; "Signor Sebastian Gabotto.....mi diceva come essendo egli andato.....lungo la detta terra fino à gradi sessantasette & mezzo sotto il nostro polo, a' XI di Giugno .....pensava fermamente per quella via di poter passare alla volta del Cataio Orientale, & l'havrebbe fatto, se la malignità del padrone & de marinari sollevati non l'havessero fatto tornare à dietro"; ibid. vol. I., fol. 402v; and Gomara, loc. cit.

2. Ruysch's map in A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Fasimile-Atlas*, plate XXXII., Stockholm, 1889.

3. Arber, op. cit., loc. cit.



use to eate fysshe: for plungeinge theym selves into the water where they perceve a multitude of these fysshes to lye, they fasten theyr clawes in theyr scales and so drawe them to lande and eate them.'<sup>1</sup> So plentiful were the cod in this region that according to Sebastian Cabot 'they sumtymes stayed his shippes.'<sup>2</sup>

Rounding cape Race, or as they had named it on their former voyage, England's cape, the explorers visited once more the regions discovered in the previous summer. They proceeded to make their way southward along the coast of our Nova Scotia and New England, perhaps in the hope of reaching Cipangu, then placed in the region of the equator. The absence of all trace of eastern civilization, as well as the low state of their stores, induced them, on reaching the parallel of 38°, near Chesapeake bay, to bring their exploration to an end for that year.<sup>3</sup> The ships were put about and a course set for England, where they arrived safely late in the same autumn.<sup>4</sup>

The reception accorded the Cabots must have been a cold one. On setting forth they had promised to bring home cargoes of spices and rich gems: on their return they had nothing to show but a few furs and the story of a barren land. The disappointment among the merchants who had advanced funds for this voyage appears to have been great since no fresh expedition left Bristol for three years, and the one sent out in 1501 was not entrusted to the Cabots.

Meanwhile the Portuguese had set about exploring these same coasts. On the island of Terceira, where Fernandez had his home, lived a nobleman named Gaspar Corte Real, who was so deeply interested in the discoveries then being made, that at his own expense he had set sail in search of new lands. On

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Gomara, op. cit., loc. cit.

4. Docs. XIIA., XVA. and XXX. at pp. 26, 30 and 100; and Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, 23.

12 May, 1500, King Manoel granted him the governorship of any country or island he should discover within the Portuguese sphere of influence.<sup>1</sup> By the Treaty of Tordesillas concluded with Spain on 7 June, 1494, Portugal had consented to limit her possessions in the west by a line running north and south 370 leagues beyond the Cape Verde islands.<sup>2</sup>

Sailing from Terceira in the spring of 1500, Corte Real set his course towards the northwest, and about the middle of June reached the east coast of Greenland. Like the Cabots, he first proceeded north, but at the end of June was obliged, as they had been, to come about and to head towards the south. Rounding cape Farewell, to which he gave the appropriate and sinister name of cape Get-sight-of-me-and-leave-me, Corte Real made his way up the south-west coast of Greenland. Several striking headlands and other landmarks were named after his father, João Vaz Corte Real. Near North Ström fiord, in 67° 30', the explorer again encountered icebergs, whereupon he put his ships about, and passing southward, set his course for Lisbon, where he arrived safely sometime in the same autumn.<sup>3</sup>

Corte Real reported to King Manoel that the country he had explored called Greenland or Labrador was so wrapped in snow and ice that he had been able to land in a very few places.<sup>4</sup> The natives were of medium height, and great archers, lived in rocky caves or thatched cottages, and clothed themselves in the skins of animals.<sup>5</sup> A fresh expedition would, he hoped, produce results of more importance, and

1. Doc. XVIIA., p. 35.

2. M. F. de Navarrete, *Coleccion de los viajes y descubrimientos*, 2nd edit., II., No. LXXV., p. 147, Madrid, 1859.

3. Damian de Goes, *Chronica do felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel*, part IV, fol. 65, Lisboa, 1566; A. Galvano, *The Discoveries of the World*, 96-7. London (Hakluyt Society) 1862; and the Portuguese maps of the sixteenth century.

4. The inscription on the Cantino map, published with the late Mr. HARRISSE's *Les Corte-Real*, Paris, 1883.

5. Damian de Goes, op. cit., loc. cit.

preparations were accordingly begun to return thither in the following spring.<sup>1</sup>

Three vessels were fitted out, and with these Corte Real set sail from Lisbon on 15 May, 1501.<sup>2</sup> When nearing cape Farewell the ships ran into one of those packs of field-ice,<sup>3</sup> which are carried down the east coast of Greenland by a current from the north. To clear this ice they altered their course to the westward. After sailing for some days in that direction, Corte Real sighted our modern Labrador, probably near cape Mugford, in latitude 58°, where the coast rises to a height of over 3,000 feet.<sup>4</sup>

Seeing that towards the north the shore still rose in height while the whole region looked extremely barren and desolate, Corte Real concluded that this coast formed one with the land explored in the previous summer, and for that reason decided to follow it towards the south.<sup>5</sup> Up one of the many inlets with which Labrador is indented, perhaps Hamilton inlet, which they named the Doe's bay,<sup>6</sup> the Portuguese came upon a band of Nasquapee Indians. Having been taught by the African slave-trade to look upon all natives as booty, Corte Real had some sixty of these Indians seized and stowed away under the hatches.<sup>7</sup>

Continuing his course southward he mistook our strait of Belle-Isle for a bay, and also assumed that the east coast of Newfoundland formed the continuation of the main shore already explored to the north.<sup>8</sup> Belle Isle was named Friar

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Doc. XXIIA., p. 63.

4. The Cantino, Canerio, Reinel and Riccardiana maps in K. Kretschmer, *Atlas.....der Entdeckung Amerika's*, Tafeln VIII. 1, and XXXIII. Berlin, 1892.

5. Docs. XXIIA. and XXIII A., pp. 63-4 and 66.

6. The Reinel and Miller maps in HARRISSE, *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, 74 and 86, planches V. and VII., Paris, 1900.

7. Docs. XXIIA. and XXIII A., pp. 64 and 66.

8. The Cantino, Canerio, Reinel, Miller, Riccardiana and Freire maps Cf. HARRISSE, op. cit., 238, N° 79.

Lewis's island,<sup>1</sup> but cape Bonavista still retains the name given to it by Corte Real of *cabo de Boa Vista*, or Fairview cape.<sup>2</sup> Trinity bay received the name of St. Irene's bay, after a well-known Portuguese saint.<sup>3</sup> Further to the south both Baccalieu island and Conception bay preserve the names given to them by Gaspar Corte Real. Ferryland was christened *Farelhão*, or the Rocky Promontory, and our Fermeuse, *rio Feroso*, or the Pretty river. Cape Race owes its name either to its barren appearance (*cabo Razo*) or to its semblance to a cape of the same name at the mouth of the Tagus.<sup>4</sup>

Rounding this great headland, Corte Real coasted along the southern shores of Newfoundland as far as Placentia bay, which he named the Big bay.<sup>5</sup> He appears to have called St. Mary's bay between it and cape Race, the harbour of the Cross, because of a festival celebrated on 14 September.<sup>6</sup>

About this date in one of the harbours on the west side of Placentia bay, Corte Real took leave of his two consorts. While they made their way home to Lisbon, he wished to continue his exploration towards the south in order to ascertain the connexion between this great continent and the islands discovered near the equator by Christopher Columbus.<sup>7</sup>

The two caravels having on board the Indians reached Lisbon in safety, the first on the 9th and the second on the 11th

1. The Reinel, Miller, Ribero and Freire maps. Ribero's map has been well produced in J. G. Kohl, *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika*, Weimar, 1860.

2. The Viegas, Riccardiana, Portuguese Dépôt and Freire maps. Cf. HARRISSE, *op. cit.* pp. 105, 108, 234 and 238. The Viegas map will also be found in J. G. Kohl, *History of the Discovery of Maine*, 348, Portland, 1869.

3. The Reinel, Ribero, Viegas and Freire maps.

4. The King, Reinel, Miller, Ribero, Viegas and Freire maps. The King map is reproduced in Nordenskiöld's *Periplus*, N<sup>o</sup> XLV.

5. The Riccardiana and Freire maps.

6. The Miller map. From the Cantino, Canerio and King maps it seems clear that Gaspar Corte Real did not separate from his consorts until they had reached the south coast of Newfoundland.

7. Docs. XXIIA. and XXIIIA., pp. 64 and 67.



of October. The return voyage had only occupied a month.<sup>1</sup> King Manoel was delighted at the discovery of this extensive country rich in slaves and covered with timber, and hoped with such resources at his disposal to continue successfully his conquests in the East Indies.<sup>2</sup>

In the same summer of 1501 the merchants of Bristol sent out a fresh expedition to the west. By letters patent issued on 19 March, 1501, Henry VII. granted to Richard Warde, Thomas Ashurst and John Thomas, of Bristol, together with João and Francis Fernandez and João Gonzales, of the Azores, permission to undertake explorations in the west, with a monopoly of trade to the region discovered during ten years, and licence to enter one vessel at Bristol free of duty during four years.<sup>3</sup> Under this authority an expedition was despatched from Bristol to the westward, but what region it visited we do not know. The sole record that has come down to us is an entry in the king's accounts under 7 January, 1502, of five pounds paid 'to the men of Bristol that founde the Isle.'<sup>4</sup> From this we gather that they may have revisited the south coast of Newfoundland first explored in 1497 by John Cabot.

Meanwhile the autumn passed without anything being seen of Gaspar Corte Real. His exploration of the region to the west of Placentia bay had evidently been fraught with peril. In this belief, his brother Michael resolved to go in search of him, and on 15 January, 1502, King Manoel ratified Michael's claim to the country already explored by Gaspar.<sup>5</sup> Three vessels were fitted out, and with these Michael set sail from Lisbon on 10 May, 1502.<sup>6</sup>

On reaching Newfoundland in June, it was decided that

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1. Doc. XXIIA., p. 64.

2. Doc. XXIIIA., p. 67.

3. Doc. XXA., pp. 50-59.

4. Doc. VI., p. 12.

5. Doc. XXIVA., pp. 67-70.

6. Damian de Goes, *op. cit.* loc. cit.

each vessel should examine a separate part of the coast, with orders to meet at St. Johns on 20 August.<sup>1</sup> One vessel appears to have explored the region beyond Placentia bay, which was the point at which Gaspar had parted company with his two consorts. Chapeau Rouge, a conical hill which marks the western extremity of this bay, was named apparently the Pilot's cape,<sup>2</sup> while to Langlade they gave the name of the Green island, in contrast to the barrenness of the opposite mainland.<sup>3</sup> Cape La Hune, a notable landmark further westward, was christened cape Shallop,<sup>4</sup> perhaps from the fact that they found here one of Gaspar's boats. Near Grand Bruit the Indians appear to have offered goods for barter, on which account the Portuguese named this highland, the Peddler's cape.<sup>5</sup>

Rounding cape Ray, to which they gave the appropriate name of cape Bend,<sup>6</sup> this vessel probably proceeded for a considerable distance up the west coast of Newfoundland. St. George's bay and river being found much more pleasant than any part of the south coast, received the name of the Pretty river.<sup>7</sup> This bay is separated from Port-au-Port bay by a narrow isthmus, in places less than one hundred yards in width, on which account they named Port-au-Port bay, Athwart bay.<sup>8</sup> To the bay of Islands into which flows the largest river in Newfoundland, they gave the name of the

1. Galvano, op. cit., 97.

2. *C. do Piloto* on the Viegas and Riccardiana maps.

3. *I. Verde* on the Viegas and Riccardiana maps.

4. *C. do Batell* on the Viegas map. The *b. do Batell* of the Riccardiana atlas would thus be Hermitage bay.

5. *C. dos Mazcotos* in the Riccardiana atlas and *c. do Mazcato* on the Viegas map.

6. *C. da Volta* on the Viegas and Riccardiana maps.

7. *Rio Fremoso* on the same maps. Cf. Lieut. E. Chappell, *Voyage of H.M.S. "Rosamund" to Newfoundland*, 66 and 73-4, London, 1818; and J. B. Jukes, *Excursions in and about Newfoundland*, I., 228, London, 1842.

8. *Rio du Travesa* on the Viegas and Riccardiana maps.

Large river,<sup>1</sup> while Bonne bay, being only four miles in width, was named the Small bay.<sup>2</sup> The coast hitherto high becomes at this point a flat shelving beach, which change is indicated on the old Portuguese maps by the inscription 'flat shore.'<sup>3</sup> At St. Paul's bay they saw Indians, wherefore they called it, the Natives' river.<sup>4</sup> They do not appear to have proceeded beyond Cow head, or as they named it, the cape of the Gulf,<sup>5</sup> from which point they returned to the rendezvous at St. Johns.

Here on 20 August, this vessel and one of the others met as agreed, but neither had seen a trace of Gaspar Corte Real. To make matters worse, Michael's ship was now missing. After waiting in vain for some time these two returned alone to Portugal.<sup>6</sup>

The same summer another expedition was also despatched from Bristol to Newfoundland, but what portion of the coast it visited we do not know. It returned in September with 'three men brought out of an Iland forre beyonde Ireland, the which were clothed in Beestes skynnes and ate raw flesshe and were rude in their demeanure as Beestes.'<sup>7</sup> To Francis Fernandez and John Gonzales, now naturalized Englishmen, who evidently formed part of this expedition, Henry VII. on the 26th of the same month granted a pension of ten pounds each (\$600) 'in consideracion of the true service which they have doon unto us, oure singler pleasure as Capitaignes into the

1. *Rio Comprido* in the Riccardiana atlas. The Viegas map has *Rio pria*.

2. *B. Pequena* in the Riccardiana atlas.

3. *Costa chã* on the Viegas and Riccardiana maps. Cf. Harriette, *Découverte et évolution cartographique, etc.*, 106, note 2; and Staff Commander W. F. Maxwell, *The Newfoundland and Labrador Pilot*, 503, London, 1897.

4. *R. das Poblas* on the Viegas map. The Riccardian atlas, *R. se Solhas*.

5. *C. do Golfam* in the Riccardiana atlas.

6. Galvano, op. cit., loc. cit.

7. Doc. XXX., p. 100

new founde lande'<sup>1</sup>; and four days later he gave a further sum of twenty pounds 'to the merchants of Bristol that have bene in the newe founde lande.'<sup>2</sup> It should be borne in mind of course that this expression then embraced a much wider extent of coast than that of our present Newfoundland.<sup>3</sup>

Fresh letters patent were issued on 9 December, 1502, empowering Fernandez, Gonzales, Ashurst and one Hugh Eliot of Bristol to undertake further explorations in the west on condition they did not enter any territory already in possession of the king of Portugal. They were granted a monopoly of trade to the region explored for forty years, with permission to enter two vessels at Bristol free of duty during five years.<sup>4</sup> Under these and the former letters patent of 19 March, 1501, which were still in force,<sup>5</sup> expeditions appear to have left Bristol both in 1503 and 1504; but unfortunately we are without information as to the region visited.<sup>6</sup>

We are also in ignorance of the region examined by the two ships sent out by King Manoel in 1503 to look for the missing brothers, Gaspar and Michael Corte Real. This search which did not prove successful was doubtless limited to the coast explored by the Portuguese in 1501 and 1502.<sup>7</sup> As the two brothers were evidently lost, their rights were transferred in September, 1506, to the third brother, Vasco Annes, who had assumed the debts incurred in fitting out the former expeditions.<sup>8</sup> It may have been in connexion with these that in the following month a tax was imposed at Vianna on the cod brought to Portugal from the Banks of Newfoundland.<sup>9</sup>

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1. Doc. XXVI., p. 91.

2. Doc. VI., p. 12.

3. Cf. Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*. Paris, 1618, p. 29: "sur la côte de la Terre neuve qui est baignée du grand Ocean jusques au quarantième degré."

4. Doc. XXVa., pp. 81-91.

5. Doc. XXa., pp. 50-59.

6. Doc. VI., p. 12.

7. Damian de Goes, op. cit., fol. 65v.

8. Doc. XXVIIa., pp. 94-6.

9. Doc. XXVIIIa., pp. 97-8.



Although the Bretons may have visited the Banks even before the expeditions of the Cabots,<sup>1</sup> it was not until 1504 that French fishing vessels proceeded as far as Newfoundland.<sup>2</sup> The harbours from cape Race to cape Bonavista being occupied by the fishermen from Portugal, the French were obliged to have recourse to those which lie from cape Race westward to cape Breton.<sup>3</sup> In 1508 a ship called the *Pensée*, of Dieppe, showed the fishermen of Normandy the way to the harbours north of cape Bonavista.<sup>4</sup> One of these Norman fishing vessels in the following year brought home to Rouen seven Indians and a canoe.<sup>5</sup>

Thus Spain remained the only country of western Europe whose subjects had not visited the region. In October, 1511, King Ferdinand concluded an agreement with a certain Juan de Agramonte for a voyage of discovery to Newfoundland.<sup>6</sup> Although this compact was ratified by Queen Joanna,<sup>7</sup> no record exists to show that the expedition, which was to be piloted by Bretons, ever set sail from Santander.

During the next decade the Breton, Portuguese, English and French fishermen appear to have continued their yearly expeditions to the Banks,<sup>8</sup> but it was not until 1520 that a fresh exploration was made of this region. In that year João Alvares Fagundes, of Vianna, the fisherman of which town had long visited the Banks, applied for and received a grant of the lands or islands he should discover within the Portuguese sphere of influence.<sup>9</sup> Setting sail from Vianna, perhaps with the

1. Doc. XXXVI., p. 119. Vid. also Ch. de La Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française*, II., 399-400. Paris, 1900.

2. Ramusio, op. cit., III., 423v.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Eusebii cæsariensis episcopi, *Chronicon*, etc. fol. 172v. Paris, 1512, and reprinted in Harisse, op. cit., 162-3.

6. Doc. XXXIIA., pp. 107-11.

7. Doc. XXXIIIA., pp. 113-15.

8. Docs. XXXV-VIIIA., pp. 116-27.

9. Cf. p. XV. supra.

annual fishing fleet, he appears to have explored the coast from Nova Scotia as far as Placentia bay in Newfoundland.

On sighting our Nova Scotia, probably about the middle of June, he gave to Chedabucto bay the name of Freshwater bay, doubtless for the reason that a fresh supply was obtained there.<sup>1</sup> Along the coast of Cape Breton island Fagundes met the fishermen from Brittany, after whom the most easterly point of that island has always borne the name of cape Breton.<sup>2</sup> Continuing his way along that coast, Fagundes, on 29 June seems to have named Sydney harbour, St. Peter and St. Paul river,<sup>3</sup> while St. Anne bay, the opening beyond Bras d'Or, was christened perhaps on 5 July the river of St. James.<sup>4</sup> Along this coast the explorer appears to have caught sight of Indians; for many of the old maps bear the legend, 'Region of many people.'<sup>5</sup> Pushing northward, Fagundes arrived at length at Cape North, the northeastern extremity of Cape Breton island, which on account of its height he named the Thick or Big cape.<sup>6</sup>

1. Doc. XXXIX., p. 128: "aas tres ilhas na baya d'Auguoadá, na costa de nordeste e sueste." These would be Madame, Petit Degrat and Janvrin islands. Fresh water can be obtained in Salmon river. This region is ascribed to Fagundes on the Lazaro Luiz atlas of 1563, while the Diogo Homem map of 1568 gives an *I. Fagunda* as well as a *C. Fagunda* at this point. Cf. E. A. de Bettencourt, *Descobrimentos, guerras e conquistas dos Portuguezes em terras do ultramar nos seculos XV e XVI.*, appendix, Lisboa, 1881-2; Hantzsch und Schmidt, *Kartographische Denkmäler zur Entdeckungsgeschichte von Amerika*, Tafeln VIII, and X., Leipzig, 1903; HARRISSE, op. cit., 233-4 and 282-3; and F. KUNSTMANN, *Atlas zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Amerikas*, Blatt XI., München, 1859.

2. Cf. the inscription on the Kunstmann N° IV. map: *Terra q foy descuberta por bertômes*. The name is given on the Miller, Maggiolo, Ferdinand Columbus, Ribero, Verrazano, Viegas, Riccardiana, Desliens, Harleian, Desceliers, Freire, Vallard, Homem, Mercator, Vaz Dourado, etc., maps.

3. The Miller, Maggiolo, Viegas and Riccardiana maps.

4. *R. de Samtiago* on the Miller and Maggiolo maps.

5. *Terra de muyta gente* on the same maps. Cf. also the Viegas and Riccardiana maps.

6. *C. Gordo* on the Miller map; *c. Grosso* on the Maggiolo and Freire maps, and *c. Grueso* on the Gutierrez map. Cf. also Oviedo, op. cit., loc. cit. Cape North is some 1,000 feet in height.

The southern entrance of the gulf of St. Lawrence was mistaken for a bay, and is so represented on most of the early Portuguese maps.<sup>1</sup> To cape Ray, which is a lofty headland, Fagundes gave the name of the Beautiful cape.<sup>2</sup> Making his way along the south coast of Newfoundland, he named an opening which appears to have been La Poile bay, the bay of Islands.<sup>3</sup> St. Pierre, Miquelon and Langlade were christened the Eleven Thousand Virgins,<sup>4</sup> and to Chapeau Rouge, which marks the entrance to Placentia bay, Fagundes gave the same name.<sup>5</sup> As this festival falls on 21 October, it must have been late in the autumn when the explorer reached Placentia bay, whence he set sail for Portugal.

In the course of the winter Fagundes appeared before King Manoel, and supported by credible witnesses proved his title to the islands from Chedabucto to Placentia bays. By letters patent issued on 13 March, 1521, these islands were made over to him.<sup>6</sup> This grant in no way infringed the rights of the Corte Reals, which King John III., on ascending the throne, renewed to Vasco Annes Corte Real on 17 September, 1522.<sup>7</sup> Fagundes was never able to take advantage of his grant, and at

1. The Reinel, Kunstmann Nos. IV. and VII., Miller, Viegas, Riccardiana, and Freire maps. Cf. also Santa-Cruz's *Islario general*, infra p. 186: "Passadas las islas de las Honze mill Virgines [St. Pierre and Miquelon] haze la mar una muy gran ensenada llamada baya de Bretones;" and Oviedo, op. cit., loc. cit.: "Pero ntes de dicho rio esta un embocamiento, desde el mesmo Cabo Gruesso adelante, que tiene de traviessa veynte leguas", etc.

2. *C. Fremeoso* on the Miller and Maggiolo maps.

3. *R. das Ylhas* on the Miller map. The *C. das Ilhas* of the Freire map would then be Grand Bruit.

4. The Miller, Maggiolo, Viegas and Freire maps. Cf. also Santa-Cruz, op. cit. infra p. 186: "Passada la baya [de Santa Maria] estan tres yslas, como casi en triangulo, de hasta ocho leguas de largo cada una, con ostros iseos a la redonda, las quales se llaman las Onze mill Virgines"; and Oviedo, op. cit., II., 149.

5. The Miller and Freire maps. These as well as the Maggiolo and Ribero maps give to cape La Hune the name of St. Paul's cape.

6. Doc. XXXIXA., pp. 129-31.

7. Doc. XLIIIA., pp. 144-5.

his death left many debts incurred in fitting out the above expedition.<sup>1</sup>

Cardinal Wolsey, in the spring of 1521, wished to despatch five ships on 'a viage into the Newfound Iland,'<sup>2</sup> but the City Companies being unwilling to help, nothing was done until 1527. Meanwhile the English fishermen as well as those of France continued their yearly voyages to the Banks,<sup>3</sup> and in August, 1522, a man-of-war was ordered to the mouth of the Channel to protect 'the commyng home of the new found Isleslandes flete.'<sup>4</sup> Giovanni da Verrazano having explored the Atlantic seaboard from Florida northward for Francis I. in 1524, 'approached to the lande that in times past was discovered by the Britons,' whence 'being furnished with water and wood,' he returned to Dieppe.<sup>5</sup>

A Spanish vessel was sent to explore this region in the winter of 1524-5. Stephen Gomez, the commander, was by birth a Portuguese, and in his youth had probably come in contact with the fishermen of Vianna who yearly sailed to the Banks. With the fleets from Lisban he had also visited the East Indies.<sup>6</sup> Hoping to better his condition he, like Magellan, entered the service of Spain; but while Magellan was given command of the fleet sent in search of a new route to the East, Gomez had to content himself with the modest post of

1. *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, No. 3, Lisboa, 1878, pp. 170-1: "e depois de estar o dito testamento feito foi descobrir a Terra Nova, en que fez muita despeza e tomou dinheiro emprestado, do que ficaram muitas dividas."

2. Doc. XLII., pp. 134-42.

3. Docs. XXXVIIA., XààVIIA. and LI.-LVIA., pp. 124-27 and 159-65. Cf. also *A new interlude and a mery of the nature of the IIII elementes*, etc., in Arber, *op. cit.*, p. xxi:

"Fyshe they have so great plente  
That in havyns take and slayne they be  
With stavys withouten fayle  
Nowe frenchemen and other have founden the trade  
That yerely of fyshe there they lade  
Above an C. [100] sayle."

4. Doc. XLII., pp. 142-3.

5. Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, sign. B 3<sup>r</sup> and 4. Cf. Appendix A, No. 6, pp. 200.

6. Gomara, *op. cit.* loc. cit.: "avia navegado algunas vezes a las Indias." Cf. J. T. Medina, *El Portugués Esteban Gómez al servicio de España*, p. 146. Santiago de Chile, 1908, and S. E. Dawson *The Saint Lawrence Basin*, ch. VIII., London, 1905.



pilot of the flagship. He was not sorry, therefore, when in October, 1520, at the entrance to the strait of Magellan the crew of the *St. Anthony*, to which he had been transferred, mutinied, and putting the captain in irons, set sail for Spain.<sup>1</sup> Gomez lost no time in petitioning for a fleet with which to seek between Newfoundland and Florida for a passage to the East. By an agreement executed on 27 March, 1523, Charles V. consented to furnish him with a caravel of fifty tons provisioned for one year.<sup>2</sup> Sebastian Cabot, who was then preparing to set sail on his expedition to the Moluccas, approved of Gomez's plan,<sup>3</sup> by which it was hoped many islands would be discovered 'rich in gold and silver, spices and drugs.'<sup>4</sup> The caravel for Gomez was made ready at Corunna, which town and district were ordered by the emperor to provide the ship with all necessary supplies.<sup>5</sup>

Setting sail from Corunna on 3 August, 1524,<sup>6</sup> Gomez reached Newfoundland probably in September, but having been forbidden to enter any territory in possession of the king of Portugal,<sup>7</sup> appears to have sailed westward to Cape Breton island, which he coasted towards the south. Our Bras d'Or, on account of its double entrance was christened the 'river with two mouths.'<sup>8</sup> Being ignorant of the fact that Canso Gut was a passage between Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, Gomez gave to Chedabucto bay, leading to this Gut, the name of the 'bay with the Cove.'<sup>9</sup> Continuing

1. A Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, edit. by J. A. Robertson, vol. I., pp. 68-9. Cleveland, 1906.

2. Docs. XLIVA.-XLVA., pp. 147-52.

3. A. de Herrera, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos*, etc., Dec. III., lib. IV., Madrid, 1730, p. 144: "porque Sebastian Gaboto, Capitan del Rei i Piloto Maior, tambien tenian opinion, que havia muchas Islas por descubrir cerca de los Malucos."

4. Doc. XLIVA., p. 148.

5. Docs. XLVIA.-XLIXA., pp. 154-58. Cf. Herrera, op. cit., pp. 143-4: "Concluido este Asiento, mandò el Rei dar sus Cédulas, para que en el, Señorío de Vizcaya, i quatro Villas de la Costa de la Mar, se diese todo favor, en el armar de este Navio," etc.

6. P. Martyr, *Opus epistolarum*, fol. CXCIIV. Letter No. DCCCIII. Compluti, 1530; Oviedo, *De la natural hystoria de las Indias*, fol. XIV<sup>v</sup>. Toledo, 1526; and Medina, op. cit., 93.

7. Doc. XLIVA., p. 148.

8. *Rio de Dos Bocas*, in Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, II., 148. Madrid, 1852.

9. *Bahia de la Ensenada* which Oviedo (*Historia general*, etc., II., 148) states was ten leagues wide. Chedabucto bay is 17 miles in width.

his exploration southwards he named two openings on the coast of Nova Scotia which appear to have been our Ship and Halifax harbours, Chestnut-grove river<sup>1</sup> and the river of Mountains.<sup>2</sup>

Rounding cape Sable, the reefs off which are indicated on the maps of the time,<sup>3</sup> Gomez penetrated into the bay of Fundy. The further he advanced the more he became convinced that this was the strait of which he was in search. Great therefore was his disappointment on reaching the head of the bay. He named it Doe river,<sup>4</sup> on account, no doubt, of the deer seen along its shores.

Passing south outside of Grand Manan island, which he mistook for the main shore, Gomez named its southwest head, the cape of Many Islands.<sup>5</sup> Making his way southward along the coast of the mainland he gave to Schoodic point, probably on New Year's Day, 1525,<sup>6</sup> the name of cape St. Mary.<sup>7</sup> The numerous islands that fill Frenchman and Penobscot bays were christened Stephen Gomez's archipelago,<sup>8</sup> while Penaquid point, on account of its reefs, was called Reef point.<sup>9</sup> To Sheepscat river he appears to have given the name of the Dry river.<sup>10</sup> Just beside it is the Kennebec, but since the

1. *Rio de Castañar* in Oviedo, loc. cit. The name is also given on the Ferdinand Columbus map.

2. *Rio de Montañas* in Oviedo, loc. cit. The name is also given on the Ribero map.

3. The Ribero and Santa-Cruz maps have *arecifes* at this point. The *medanos* or sand banks mentioned by Oviedo, op. cit., II., 148, appear to have existed formerly (1857) to the north of cape Sable.

4. Oviedo, op. cit., II. 147: "Desde el Cabo de Muchas Islas hasta la punta ó cabo que tiene el rio de las Gamas al Leste, hay veynte leguas de mar, é todo aquello es entrada ó embocamiento ó bahia del dicho rio." Cf. also Santa-Cruz's map in Harris, *Discovery of North America*, plate XI., p. 241; and those in J. G. Kohl, *History of the Discovery of Maine*, p. 315, N<sup>o</sup> XVII.

5. *Cabo de Muchas Islas* in Oviedo, loc. cit., and on the maps mentioned in the above note.

6. Harris, *Découverte*, etc., planche X., p. 90: *Tierra que descubrio Esteram Gomez este año de 1525*; and Ribero's map.

7. *Cabo de Sancta María* in Oviedo, op. cit., 147.

8. Oviedo, op. cit., II. 146-7: "Desde el Cabo de Arrecifes hasta el Cabo de Sancta María hay veynte leguas, y todo la, que hay en medio es un ancon ó ensenada lleno de islas, lo qual todo llama la carta moderna arcipiélago," etc. The name appears on the Henri II. map in Kohl, op. cit. p. 351, No. XVIII. Cf. Verrazano's Relation in Hakluyt, op. cit., loc. cit.

9. *Cabo de Arrecifes* in Oviedo, op. cit., II., 146.

mouth of the latter lies hidden among the islands, it escaped detection. On 18 February, Casco bay was christened John the Baptist's bay.<sup>1</sup> Still hugging the shore Gomez proceeded southward, and on 25 March, gave to Saco river the name of Good Mother river, in commemoration of the Virgin's Conception.<sup>2</sup> Three days later he named the Merrimac, St. Anthony's river.<sup>3</sup> Boston bay received, probably on 14 April, the name of St. Christopher's bay.<sup>4</sup> Continuing his way southward Gomez found himself inclosed in the hook of Cape Cod, to which cape he gave the name of cape St. James,<sup>5</sup> which festival falls on the first of May.

Gomez in the course of his exploration of the gulf of Maine had taken prisoner a number of Indians.<sup>6</sup> In what way this was done we are not informed, On account of the extra demand upon the stores which their presence entailed, and of the absence of any indication of a passage to the East, it was determined to forego further exploration of the coast and to set a direct course for Cuba.

Rounding cape Cod, Gomez gave to the island of Nantucket, which is surrounded with shoals to a distance of nearly forty miles, the name of the cape of Shoals, by which it continued to be designated throughout the whole of the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

Having obtained fresh provisions at Santiago in Cuba,<sup>8</sup>

1. *Bahia de Sanct Johan Baptista*, *ibid.*

2. *Rio de Buena Madre*, *ibid.*

3. *Rio de Sanct Antonio*, *ibid.*

4. *Bahia de Sanct Chripstobal*, *ibid.* Aviedo appears to give this name to Cape Cod bay but on the map in Santa-Cruz's *Islario General* reproduced in HARRISSE's *Discovery of North America*, p. 241, Plate XI., and in his *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, p. 88, planche IX., the name is written near Boston bay.

5. *Cabo de Sanctiago*, in Oviedo, *loc. cit.*

6. Gomara *loc. cit.*: "tomo quantos indios pudieron caber en la caravela y traxo se los contra la ley, y voluntad del rey." Cf. HERRERA, *op. cit.*, Dec. III., lib. VIII. cap. VIII., p. 241.

7. Kohl *op. cit.*, plate XVII., p. 315; and HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* Cf. also Oviedo, *loc. cit.*

8. HERRERA, *loc. cit.*: "fue à dar al Puerto de Santiago, adonde se refrescó y le regaló Andrés de Duero," etc.

Gomez sailed for Coruuna, which he reached in safety some ten months after leaving Spain, that is to say in June, 1525.<sup>1</sup> As the caraval entered the harbour a sailor called out that they had slaves, in Spanish, *esclavos*. A bystander understood him to say *claros* (spices), and posting to court informed the emperor that Gomez had brought home spices. This announcement gave great pleasure until the truth became known, when the emperor was much displeased.<sup>2</sup> Oviedo saw Gomez's Indians at Toledo. 'They are great archers,' he wrote, 'and go covered with the skinnes of dyvers beasts both wylde and tame. In their lande are many excellent furies as martens, sables and such other ryche furies, of the which the sayde pilote Gomes brought summe with him into Spayne.'<sup>3</sup>

Two years later our Atlantic seaboard was again explored by a vessel sent out from England. In 1521 Henry VIII. had tried to induce the Livery Companies of London to aid him in fitting out five ships 'for a viage to be made into the newefound Iland'<sup>4</sup>; and although he 'spak sharply to the maire to see it putt in execucion to the best of his power,' his efforts were not crowned with success until the year 1527. In the spring of that year two vessels, the *Samson* and the *Mary Guildford*, were fitted out at London to seek for a passage to the east by way of Davis strait. Leaving London on 10 May, they finally set sail from Plymouth on 10 June. Three weeks later, on 1 July, in latitude 53°, the vessels during a bad storm became separated, and the *Samson* must have foundered, for she was never heard of more.<sup>5</sup>

The *Mary Guildford* weathered the storm, but two days later fell in with the icebergs brought down Davis strait by a

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1. Gomara loc. cit.: "se bolvio a la Coruña dentro de diez messes;" and Herrera, loc. cit.

2. Gomara, loc. cit.; Herrera loc. cit.

3. E. Arber, op. cit., 242.

4. Doc. XLI., pp. 135 and 138.

5. R. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, pt. III., p. 809, London, 1625.



current from the polar seas. 'Then,' wrote the captain to King Henry VIII., 'we durst not goe no further to the Northward for feare of more Ice, and we cast about to the southward, and within foure dayes after we had one hundred and sixtie fathom, and then we came into 52 degrees and fell in with the mayne Land' of Labrador. Following this coast to the southward, they entered an opening on 21 July, which was probably our Alexis river. Here they found 'a good harbour, and many small Ilands, and a great fresh River going up farre into the Mayne Land.' The latter was 'all wilderness and mountaines and woods, and no naturall ground but all mosse and no inhabitation nor no people.' In the woods they discovered 'footing of divers great beastes, but saw none, not in ten leagues.' In this harbour they spent ten days refitting, fishing, and taking on board wood and fresh water.

Setting sail again at the end of July, they 'on the third of August entered into a good Haven, called St. John, where we found eleven saile of Normans and one Brittain and two Portugal Barkes, and all a fishing.' Obtaining no news of the fate of the *Samson*, the *Mary Guildford* proceeded southward in the vain hope of meeting her consort.<sup>1</sup> In the course of her voyage along our Atlantic seaboard, her pilot, an Italian, who may have been Verrazano, was killed in a skirmish with the Indians.<sup>2</sup>

It would appear that about the middle of November this ship reached Porto Rico, in the West Indies, having made her way hither from Newfoundland. From the captain of a Spanish caraval that was loading cassava at the island of Mona, which lies half-way between Porto Rico and St. Domingo, information was obtained of the condition of San Domingo.

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1. Purchas, loc. cit.

2. Doc. LVIIA., p. 167. Cf. Ramusio, op. cit. III., 417v: "et nell' ultimo viaggio, che esto fece, havendo voluto smontar in terra con alcuni compagni, furono tutti morti da quei popol & in presentia di coloro, che erano rimasi nelle navi, furono arrostiti & mangiati"; and La Roncière, op. cit. III., 267.

Setting sail from Mona on Thursday, 21 November, the *Mary Guildford* arrived off San Domingo on Monday afternoon, 25 November. A boat was at once sent on shore to ask for permission to enter the harbour and obtain fresh provisions. The authorities acceded to this request, and sent two pilots to bring the vessel into the river Ozama, the only harbour of which the town could boast. On Tuesday, 26 November, the *Mary Guildford* sailed to the mouth of the river, but was prevented by a north wind from entering the harbour. No sooner had she cast anchor than a shot was fired at her from the fort. Surprised at this reception, she at once put to sea,<sup>1</sup> but we do not know when she reached England.<sup>2</sup>

From 1527 until Cartier's exploration of the gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534, fishing-vesels continued each summer to make annual fishing voyages to our coasts,<sup>3</sup> but no record has come down to us of any fresh exploration of our shores or of any attempt to seek in those latitudes a passage to the East. Jacques Cartier was the explorer who next attempted to find such a passage, and although he was unsuccessful, his exploration resulted in the discovery of the gulf and river St. Lawrence and of the vast extent of territory stretching from the strait of Belle-Isle to the rapids of Lachine.

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1. Doc. LVIIIa., pp. 173-4.

2. Hakluyt *Principall Navigations*, 1589, p. 517; and Augmentation office, Misc. Bks. 317, No. 6138 (3), fols. 50 and 51<sup>v</sup> in the Record office.

3. Doc. LIXa-LX. pp. 179-82.



## DOCUMENTS.

### I.

29 March, 1476.

LETTERS OF NATURALIZATION ACCORDED TO JOHN CABOT  
AT VENICE.

MCCCCLXXVI die xxviii Martii.

Consiliarii. Quod fiat privilegium civilitatis de intus et extra  
Joanni Caboto per habitationem annorum XV  
juxta consuetum.

de parte—149.

de non—O; non sinc.—O.

From the Archivio di Stato at Venice, Senato, Terra, Registro VII., 1473-1477, fol. 109 *verso*: printed as 28 March in S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, IV., 453, Venezia, 1858; C. Barrera Pezzi, *Di Giovanni Cabotto rivelatore del settentrionale emisfero d'America*, 18, note 1, Venezia, 1881; H. Harrisse, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 309, Paris, 1882; F. Tarducci, *John and Sebastian Cabot*, 2, note 1, Detroit, 1893; *Raccolta di Documenti e Studî pubblicati dalla Reale Commissione Colombiana*, parte V., vol. II., p. 216, Roma, 1894; Harrisse, *John Cabot and Sebastian his Son*, 387, London, 1896; G. E. Weare, *Cabot's Discovery of North America*, 70, note 2, London, 1897; and C. R. Beazley, *John and Sebastian Cabot*, 205-6, London, 1898.

### IA.

1476 on the 29th day of March.

That a privilege of citizenship, both internal and external, be made out for John Cabot after fifteen years' residence, as usual.

Ayes, 149.

Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

Also translated in Rawdon Brown, *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice*, &c., 136, No. 453, London, 1864; Harrisse, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.; Weare, loc. cit.; and Beazley, *op. cit.*, 34.



## II.

1472-1498.

## THE FORM OF THE LETTERS OF NATURALIZATION.

Privilegium civilitatis de intus et extra per habitationem annorum xv. Aluisii Fontana olim de Pergamo.

Nicolaus Tronus Dei gratia Dux Venetiarum, etc. Universis et singulis tam amicis quam fidelibus, et tam praesentibus quam futuris, presens privilegium inspecturis, salutem et sincere dilectionis affectum:

Notum vobis fieri volumus per praesentem paginam, quod cum inter cetera, que in mente nostra revolvimus, attendamus precipue nostrorum subditorum et fidelium devotorum tractare propensius comoda et utilia salubriter procurare. Cum hoc Excellentie nostre decus aspiciat, et fidelium devotio utilius per tractata in nostrae, fidelitatis et devotionis constantia ferventius solidetur. Duximus volentes beneficia recompensare pro meritis statuendum:

Quod quicumque annis xv vel inde supra, Venetiis continue habitasset; factiones et onera nostri dominij ipso tempore subeundo, a modo civis et Venetus noster esset; et Citadinatus Venetiarum privilegio et alijs beneficiis, libertatibus et immunitatibus quibus alij Veneti et cives nostri utuntur et gaudent perpetuo et ubilibet congraderet. Unde cum providus vir, Aluisius Fontana, olim de Pergamo, nunc habitator Venetiarum in contrata Sancti Juliani, sicut legitimis et manifestis probationibus per provisores nostri Comunis diligenter examinatis, nobis innotuit annis xv Venetiis continuam habitationem habuerit, erga nos et ducatum nostrum, fideliter et laudabiliter sub devotionis integritate se gerens et subiens continue factiones et onera nostri dominij, digna remuneratione prosequentes, eundem ipsum Aluisium Fontana consiliorum et ordinamentorum nostrorum, necessaria solemnitate servata, in venetum et civem nostrum de intus et extra recepimus atque et recipimus, et Venetum et civem nostrum, de intus et extra, fecimus et facimus, et pro Veneto et cive nostro in Venetiis et extra, habere et tractare, ac haberi volumus, et ubique tractari. Ita quod singulis libertatibus, beneficiis et immunitatibus, quibus alii veneti et cives nostri de intus et extra utuntur et gaudent, idem Aluisius in Venetijs et extra, libere gaudeat de cetero et utatur. Intelligendo, quod per mare, et in fontico theotonicorum, seu cum theotonicis, mercari, seu mercari facere non possit, nisi de tanto quanto fecerit imprestita nostro dominio

in anno. In cuius rei fidem et evidentiam pleniorē, presens privilegium fieri iussimus et bulla nostra plumbea pendente muniri. Datum in nostro ducale Palatio, Anno domini incarnationis, millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo secundo, mensis Augusti die undecimo, indictione quinta.

Simile privilegium factum fuit provido viro Johanni Jacobi, qui fuit de Pensauero, nunc habitatori Venetiarum, tempore Serenissimi principis domini Nicolai Marcelli, Incliti ducis Venetiarum etc, sub bulla plumbea, MCCCCLXXIII, mensis Octubris die xxiii, Indictione VII.

Simile privilegium factum fuit provido viro Martino Figini, qui fuit de Mediolano, habitatori Venetiarum tempore Serenissimi Principis domini Nicolai Marcello, MCCCCLXXIII, die quarto Julii, Indictione VII.

Simile privilegium factum fuit provido viro Martino Frigini, Gulielmi Calderario de Columbibus, qui fuit de Balabio districtus Mediolani, habitatori Venetiarum tempore Serenissimi Principis domini Petri Mocenigo, sub bulla plumbea, MCCCCLXXV, mense Maii die quinto, Indictione octava.

Simile privilegium factum fuit provido viro Joanni Bartholomei de Brixia, habitatori Venetiarum tempore Serenissimi Principis domini Nicolai Marcello, MCCCCLXXIII, die xvii Maii, Indictione VII.

Simile privilegium factum fuit probo et prudenti viro Joanni petro de Turco, qui fuit de Navaria, habitatori Venetiarum tempore Serenissimi Principis Domini Joannis Mocenigo, die xxii<sup>do</sup> Augusti, 1480.

Simile privilegium factum fuit Bartholomeo Antonii Casarolo, die xviii augusti, 1481.

Simile privilegium factum fuit Bernardo Bartholomei de Pergamo, die 28 septembris, 1484.

Simile privilegium factum fuit Zacharie de panti de lodi, die 28 septembris, 1484.

Simile privilegium factum fuit Benedicto Lancelloti fontana, die 28 septembris, 1484.

Simile privilegium factum fuit Joanni Sebastiono et Stefano, fratribus, die 28 septembris, 1484.

Simile privilegium factum fuit Raphaeli quondam Antoni de ardiconibus, die 12 februarii, 1484.

Simile privilegium factum fuit M. Stefano Nicolai Aurifici, bulla aurea, die 26 februarii, 1484.

Simile privilegium factum fuit Joanni Caboto sub duce suprascripto, 1476.

Simile privilegium factum fuit Dominico Joanni de la Cisis sub die xviii januarii, 1498, etc.

From the Archivio di Stato at Venice, Libro privilegi, II, 53. The above copy was most kindly collated with the original by my friend, Dr. J. Plattard, and by Mr. Horatio F. Brown, of Venice. Printed in C. Bullo, *La vera patria di Nicolo de' Conti e di Giovanni Caboto*, 59-60 Chioggia, 1880; and more fully in Harriſſe, op. cit., 309-12; and in Tarducci, op. cit., 315-7.

## IIA.

Privilege of citizenship, internal and external, after fifteen years' residence. Aloysio Fontana, formerly of Bergamo.

Niccolò Trono, by the grace of God, Doge of Venice, etc. To all and singular our friends and lieges, present and future, who shall see the present privilege, greeting and proof of sincere friendship:

By these presents we desire to make known to you that among the other thoughts which fill our mind, we aim principally to procure what is especially advantageous and useful in a wholesome way to our subjects and devoted lieges. As this is one of the duties of our august office, and as our acts strengthen our subjects in their faithful and devoted attachment towards us, we, wishing to reward merit according to its deserts, have thought good to decree:

That since whoever has resided in Venice continuously for fifteen years or more, and during that period has fulfilled the duties and borne the charges of our government, is to be henceforward a citizen and one of our Venetians, and is to enjoy forever and everywhere the rights, liberties and immunities exercised and enjoyed by the other Venetians, our citizens: wherefore as the prudent man, Aloysio Fontana, formerly of Bergamo, now a resident in St. Julian street, Venice, has notified us by proper and clear proofs which have been carefully verified by the magistrates of our municipality, that he has inhabited Venice continuously during fifteen years, conducting himself towards us and our duchy faithfully and worthily, with wholehearted devotion, and submitting regularly to the duties and charges of our government, things worthy of reward, we have received and receive the said Aloysio Fontana, the proper formality having been observed, as a Venetian and our citizen within and without, and have created and create him a Vene-

tian and our citizen within and without, and desire him to be and act and be held and treated as a Venetian and our citizen in Venice and without, everywhere, in such a manner that the said Aloysio may for the rest freely enjoy and make use of all the liberties, rights and immunities that the other Venetians, our citizens, have and enjoy within and without, it being understood that he cannot himself trade or carry on trade through others by sea or in the German warehouse or with Germans, unless he has given security for this to our government within the year. In witness and more complete evidence whereof we have caused the present privilege to be drawn up, and our leaden seal to be affixed thereto. Given in our ducal Palace on 11 August in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1472, Indiction V.

A similar privilege was granted to the prudent man, Giovanni, the son of Giacomo, formerly of Pesaro, now an inhabitant of Venice, in the time of the Most Serene Liege Lord Nicolas Marcello, Illustrious Doge of Venice, etc., under a leaden seal on 23 October, 1473, Indiction VII.

A similar privilege was granted to the prudent man, Martino Figinis, formerly of Milan, inhabitant of Venice in the time of the Most Serene Liege Lord Nicolas Marcello, on 4 July, 1474, Indiction VII.

A similar privilege was granted to the prudent man, Antonio, son of Gulielmo, boilermaker of Colombi, formerly of Balabio, a district of Milan, inhabitant of Venice in the time of the Most Serene Liege Lord Pietro Mocenigo, under a leaden bull, on 5 May, 1475, Indiction VIII.

A similar privilege was granted to the prudent man, Giovanni, son of Bartholomeo of Brescia, inhabitant of Venice in the time of the Most Serene Liege Lord Nicolas Marcello, on 17 May, 1474, Indiction VII.

A similar privilege was granted to the honest and prudent man, Giovanni Pietro de Turco, formerly of Novara, inhabitant of Venice in the time of the Most Serene Liege Lord Giovanni Mocenigo, 22 August, 1480.

A similar privilege was granted to Bartholomeo, son of Antonio Casarolo, on 18 August, 1481.

A similar privilege was granted to Bernardo, son of Bartholomeo of Bergamo, on 28 September, 1484.

A similar privilege was granted to Zacharia de Panti, of Lodi, on 28 September, 1484.

A similar privilege was granted to Benedetto, son of Lancelloto Fontana, on 28 September, 1484.



A similar privilege was granted to the brothers Giovanni, Sebastiano and Stephano, on 28 September, 1484.

A similar privilege was granted to Rafaele, son of the late Antonio of Ardiccione, on 12 February, 1484.

A similar privilege was granted, with a golden seal, to M. Stefano, son of Nicolas, the goldsmith, on 26 February, 1484.

A similar privilege was granted to John Cabot under the Doge above mentioned [Pietro Mocenigo], 1476.

A similar privilege was granted to Domenico Giovanni de la Cisio on 18 January, 1498, etc.

Also translated in part in Tarducci, op. cit., 26-7; in Beazley, op. cit., 35-6; and in full in Harris, *John Cabot, &c.*, 387-9.

### III.

5 March, 1496.

#### PETITION OF JOHN CABOT AND HIS SONS.

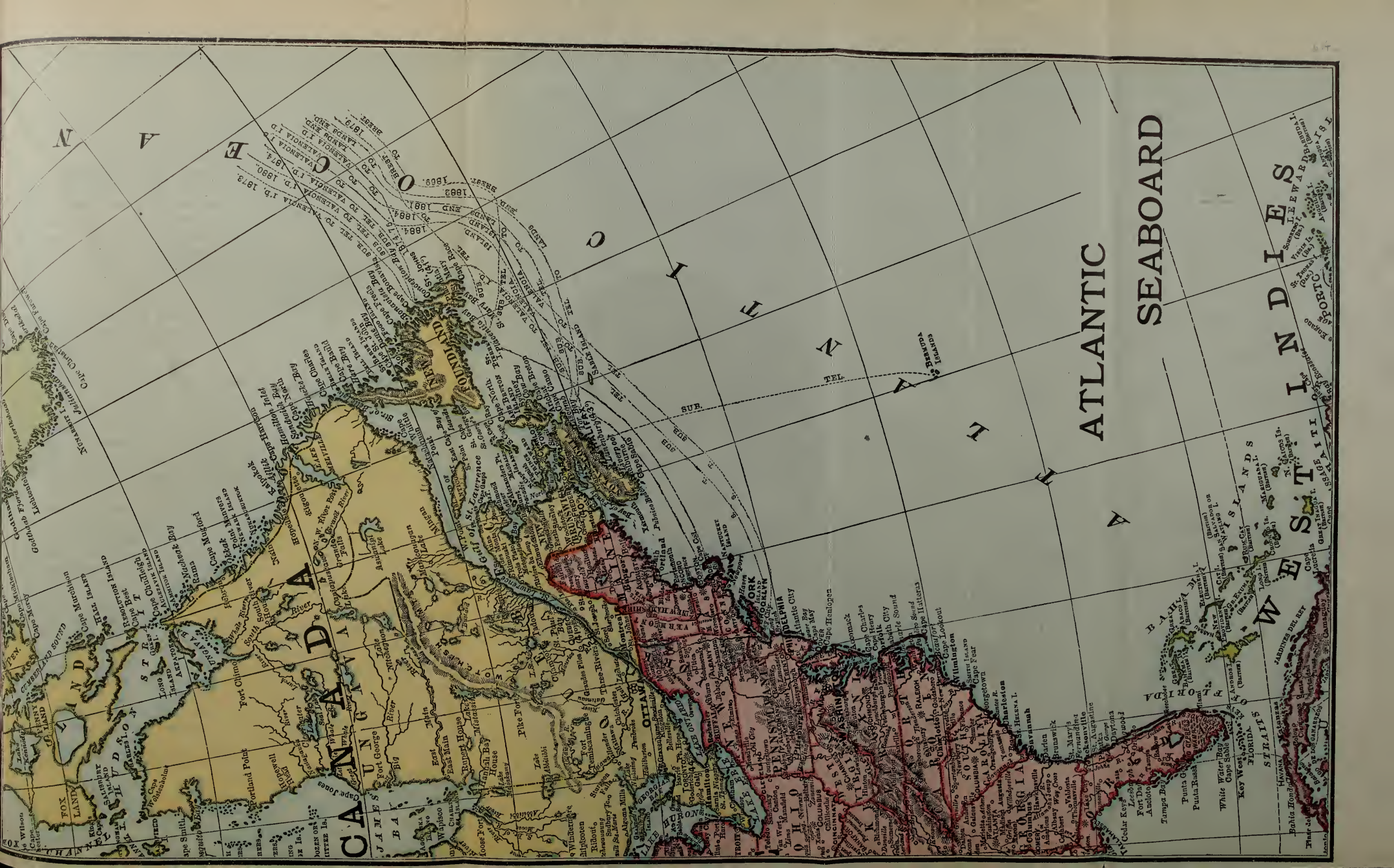
Memorandum quod quinto die marcii, anno regni regis Henrici septimi undecimo, ista billa deliberta fuit domino Cancellario Anglie apud Westmonasterium exequenda:

To the kyng our souvereigne lord:

Please it your highnes of your moste noble and haboundant grace to graunt unto John Cabotto, Citezen of Venice, Lewes, Sebastyan and Soncio, his sonnys, your gracious letters patentes under your grete seale in due forme to be made according to the tenour hereafter ensuyng<sup>1</sup>. And they shall during their lyves pray to God for the prosperous continuance of your moste noble and royall astate long to enduer.

From the Public Record Office, Chancery Warrants for Privy Seal, ser. II, 146, (7th in packet): printed in C. Desimoni, *Intorno a Giovanni Caboto* in the *Atti della Società ligure di Storia patria*, p. 223, Genova, 1881; H. Harris, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 312-3; A. J. Weise, *The Discoveries of America to the year 1525*, p. 188, New York, 1884; Tarducci, op. cit., 320; Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, XII, 22, note, Edinburgh, 1889; *American History Leaflet*, No. 9, edit. by A. B. Hart and E. Channing, p. 5, New York, 1893; *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi pubblicati dalla Reale Commissione Colombiana*, parte V, vol. II, p. 216; D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland*, p. 8, London, 1895; G. E. Weare, op. cit., 94; and C. R. Beazley, op. cit., 48-9.

<sup>1</sup> A draft copy was enclosed which corresponds with document IV, except for the inclusion of one word. Vid. p. 7, note.







IV.

5 March, 1496.

FIRST LETTERS PATENT GRANTED BY HENRY VII. TO JOHN CABOT  
AND HIS SONS.

*Pro Johanne Caboto et filiis suis.*

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc. Salutem: Notum sit et manifestum quod dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes damus et concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris dilectis nobis Johanni Cabotto, civi Veneciarum, ac Lodovico, Sebastiano et Sancto, filiis dicti Johannis, et eorum ac cuiuslibet eorum heredibus et deputatis, plenam ac liberam auctoritatem, facultatem et potestatem navigandi ad omnes partes, regiones et sinus maris orientalis, occidentalis et septemtrionalis sub banneris, vexillis et insigniis nostris cum quinque navibus sive navigiis, cuiuscumque portiture et qualitatis existant, et cum tot et tantis nautis et hominibus, quot et quantis in dictis navibus secum ducere voluerint, suis et eorum propriis sumptibus et expensis, ad inveniendum, discooperiendum et investigandum quascumque insulas, patrias, regiones sive provincias gentilium et infidelium<sup>1</sup> in quacumque parte mundi positas, que Christianis omnibus ante hec tempora fuerunt incognite. Concessimus eciam eisdem et eorum cuilibet, eorumque et cuiuslibet eorum heredibus et deputatis, ac licenciam dedimus affigendi predictas banneras nostras et insignia in quacumque villa, oppido, castro, insula seu terra firma a se noviter inventis. Et quod prenominati Johannes et filii eiusdem seu heredes et eorum deputati quascumque huiusmodi villas, castra, oppida et insulas a se inventas, que subiugari, occupari et possideri possint, subiugare, occupare et possidere valeant, tamquam vasalli nostri et gubernatores, locatenentes et deputati eorundem, dominium, titulum et jurisdictionem eorundem villarum, castrorum, oppidorum, insularum ac terre firme sic inventorum nobis acquirendo; Ita tamen ut ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis, commodis, lucris et obventionibus ex huiusmodi navigatione provenientibus, prefati Johannes et filii ac heredes et eorum deputati teneantur et sint obligati nobis pro omni viagio suo, tocies quociens ad portum nostrum Bristollie applicuerint, ad quem omnino applicare teneantur et sint astricti, deductis omnibus sumptibus et impensis necessariis per eosdem factis, quintam partem tocies capitalis lucris sui facti sive in mercibus sive in pecuniis persolvere. Dantes

<sup>1</sup> In the copy preserved under Chancery Warrants for Privy Seal, ser. II, 146, the word *quorumcumque* is inserted here.

nos et concedentes eisdem suisque heredibus et deputatis ut ab omni solutione custumarum omnium et singulorum bonorum ac mercium, quas secum reportarint ab illis locis sic noviter inventis, liberi sint et immunes. Et insuper dedimus et concessimus eisdem ac suis heredibus et deputatis, quod terre omnes firme, insule, ville, oppida, castra et loca quecumque a se inventa, quotquot ab eis inveniri contigerit, non possint ab aliis quibusvis nostris subditis frequentari seu visitari absque licencia predictorum Johannis et eius filiorum suorumque deputatorum, sub pena amissionis tam navium sive navigiorum quam bonorum omnium quorumcumque ad ea loca sic inventa navigare presumencium. Volentes et strictissime mandantes omnibus et singulis nostris subditis tam in terra quam in mare constitutis ut prefato Johanni et eius filiis ac deputatis bonam assistenciam faciant, et tam in armandis navibus seu navigiis quam in provisione commeatus et victualium pro sua pecunia emendorum atque aliarum rerum sibi providendarum pro dicta navigatione sumendarum suos omnes favores et auxilia imparciantur.

In cuius etc.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium quinto die Marcii.

Per ipsum Regem, etc., et de data, etc.

From the Public Record Office, Treaty Roll 178, membrane 8 (old numbering 23). Another copy will be found under Chancery Warrant for Privy Seal, ser. II, 146, No. 7: printed in Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, sign. A, London, 1582; idem, *Principall Navigations*, 509-10, London, 1589; idem, *Principall Navigations*, III, 4-5, London, 1600; Rymer, *Fœdera* XII, 595-6, London, 1712; ibid, V, pt. IV, 89, Hagæ Comitum, 1741; E. Hazard, *Historical Collections*, I, 9-10, Philadelphia, 1792; Hakluyt, op. cit. III, 25-6, London, 1810; idem, *Divers Voyages*, 19-20, London, 1850; Desimoni, op. cit., 223-5; Harris, op. cit., 313-5; Hakluyt, op. cit., XII, 19-21, 1889; Tarducci, op. cit., 320-2; *American History Leaflet*, No. 9, 2-3 (from Rymer); *Raccolta Colombiana*, loc. cit., 216-7; Weare, op. cit., 96-7; and Hakluyt, op. cit., VII, 141-3. Glasgow, 1904.

#### IVA.

For John Cabot and his Sons.

The King, to all to whom, etc. Greeting: Be it known and made manifest that we have given and granted as by these



presents we give and grant, for us and our heirs, to our well-beloved John Cabot, citizen of Venice, and to Lewis, Sebastian and Sancio, sons of the said John, and to the heirs and deputies of them, and of any one of them, full and free authority, faculty and power to sail to all parts, regions and coasts of the eastern, western and northern sea, under our banners, flags and ensigns, with five ships or vessels of whatsoever burden and quality they may be, and with so many and such mariners and men as they may wish to take with them in the said ships, at their own proper costs and charges, to find, discover and investigate whatsoever islands, countries, regions or provinces of heathens and infidels, in whatsoever part of the world placed, which before this time were unknown to all Christians. We have also granted to them and to any of them, and to the heirs and deputies of them and of any one of them, and have given licence to set up our aforesaid banners and ensigns in any town, city, castle, island or mainland whatsoever, newly found by them. And that the before-mentioned John and his sons or their heirs and deputies may conquer, occupy and possess whatsoever such towns, castles, cities and islands by them thus discovered that they may be able to conquer, occupy and possess, as our vassals and governors lieutenants and deputies therein, acquiring for us the dominion, title and jurisdiction of the same towns, castles, cities, islands and mainlands so discovered; in such a way nevertheless that of all the fruits, profits, emoluments, commodities, gains and revenues accruing from this voyage, the said John and sons and their heirs and deputies shall be bounden and under obligation for every their voyage, as often as they shall arrive at our port of Bristol, at which they are bound and holden only to arrive, all necessary charges and expenses incurred by them having been deducted, to pay to us, either in goods or money, the fifth part of the whole capital gained, we giving and granting to them and to their heirs and deputies, that they shall be free and exempt from all payment of customs on all and singular the goods and merchandise that they may bring back with them from those places thus newly discovered.

And further we have given and granted to them and to their heirs and deputies, that all mainlands, islands, towns, cities, castles and other places whatsoever discovered by them, however numerous they may happen to be, may not be frequented or visited by any other subjects of ours whatsoever without the licence of the aforesaid John and his sons and of their deputies, on pain of the loss as well of the ships or vessels daring to sail

to these places discovered, as of all goods whatsoever. Willing and strictly commanding all and singular our subjects as well by land as by sea, that they shall render good assistance to the aforesaid John and his sons and deputies, and that they shall give them all their favour and help as well in fitting out the ships or vessels as in buying stores and provisions with their money and in providing the other things which they must take with them on the said voyage.

In witness whereof, etc.

Witness ourself at Westminster on the fifth day of March.

By the King himself, etc.

Also translated in Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, sign. A 2; idem, *Principall Navigations*, 510-11, London, 1589; idem, *Principall Navigations*, III, 5, London, 1600; G. Chalmers, *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies, etc.*, 7-8, London, 1780; W. Barrett, *The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*, 171-2, Bristol, 1789; Hakluyt, op. cit., III, 26, 1810; idem, *Divers Voyages*, 21-2, 1850; J. F. Nicholls and J. Taylor, *Bristol, Past and Present*, III, 294, Bristol, 1882; Hakluyt, op. cit., XII, 21-2, 1889; *Old South Leaflet*, No. 37, 1-2 (from Hakluyt); C. R. Markham, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus and Documents relating to the Voyages of John Cabot and Gaspar Corte Real*, 197-9, London (the Hakluyt Society), 1893; *American History Leaflet*, No. 9, 4-5 (from Hakluyt); Weare, op. cit., 97-100; Beazley, op. cit., 49-51; and Hakluyt, op. cit., VII, 143-4, 1904.

## V.

28 March, 1496.

EXTRACT FROM A DISPATCH OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA TO  
GONZALES DE PUEBLA, THEIR AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND.<sup>1</sup>

.... Quanto a lo que desis que alla es ydo uno como Colon para poner al Rey de Ynglaterra en otro negocio como el de las Yndias syn perjuysio de España ni de Portugal, sy asy le acude a el como a nos otros, lo de las Yndias bien librado estara. Crehemos que esto sera echadiso del Rey de Françia por poner

<sup>1</sup> The date of Puebla's original dispatch was 21 January, 1496, as stated by the late Mr. Harrisse, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 13.

en esto al Rey de Ynglaterra para le apartar de otros negocios. Mirad que procureis que en esto ni en lo semejante no resciba engaño el Rey re Ynglaterra, que por quantas partes pudieren, trabajaran los franceses de gelo faser. Y estas cosas semejantes son cosas muy ynçiertas, y tales que para agora no conviene entender en ellas; y tambien mirad que a aquellas partes no se puede entender en esto syn perjuisio nuestro o del Rey de Portugal.....

De Tortosa a xxviii de Marzo de MCCCCXCVI.

From the Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Tratados con Inglaterra leg. 2º, fol. 16; draft copy: printed in Desimoni, op. cit., 226; HARRISSE, op. cit., 315-6; TARDUCCI, op. cit., 322-3; *Raccolta Colombiana*, loc. cit., 217; and WEARE, op. cit., 110-11 (from HARRISSE).

#### VA.

... In regard to what you say of the arrival there of one like Columbus for the purpose of inducing the king of England<sup>1</sup> to enter upon another undertaking like that of the Indies, without prejudice to Spain or to Portugal, if he [the king] aids him as he has us, the Indies will be well rid of the man. We are of opinion that this is a scheme of the French king's to persuade the king of England to undertake this so that he will give up other affairs. Take care that you prevent the king of England from being deceived in this or in anything else of the kind, since wherever they can, the French will endeavour to bring this about. And things of this sort are very uncertain, and of such a nature that for the present it is not seemly to conclude an agreement therein; and it is also clear that no arrangement can be concluded in this matter in that country [England] without harm to us or to the king of Portugal.....

Tortosa,<sup>2</sup> 28 March, 1496.

Also translated in BERGENROTH, *Calendar of Spanish State Papers* I, 89, London, 1862; *The Historical Magazine*, 2nd ser. III, No. 3, 134, appendix B, MORRISANIA, 1868 (from BERGENROTH); WEISE, op. cit., 187; WEARE, op. cit., 111-12; and BEAZLEY, op. cit., 51-2.

<sup>1</sup> Henry VII.

<sup>2</sup> A town in Catalonia.

## VI.

## VARIOUS ARTICLES OF THE PRIVY PURSE EXPENSES OF HENRY VII.

12. H. 7 <sup>1</sup> Aug <sup>t</sup> : 10 <sup>th</sup>	Itm to hym that founde the new Isle....	£10	0	0
13. H. 7 Meh: 22 <sup>d</sup>	Itm to Lanslot Thirkill <sup>2</sup> of Lond. upon a Prest for his Shipp going towards the new Ilande ..	£20	0	0
	Itm delivered to Launcelot Thirkill going towards the new Ile in Prest ..	£20	0	0
Apr: 1 <sup>st</sup>	Itm to Thomes Bradley & Launcelot Thirkill going to the new Isle ..	£30	0	0
Apr: 1 <sup>st</sup>	Itm to John Carter going to the Newe Ile in rewarde	0	40	0
17. H. 7 <sup>3</sup> Jan: 7 <sup>th</sup>	Itm to men of Bristoll that founde Thisle..	0	100	0
17. [sic] <sup>4</sup> H. 7 Sept: 30 <sup>th</sup>	Itm to the merchants of Bristoll that have bene in the newe founde Launde.	£20	0	0
19. H. 7 <sup>5</sup> Apr: 8 <sup>th</sup>	Itm to a preste that goith to the new Ilande..	0	40	0
20 <sup>th</sup> H. 7 <sup>th6</sup> Aug <sup>t</sup> : 25 <sup>th</sup>	Itm to Clays goying to Richemount with wylde Catts & Popyngays of the Newfound Island for his costs....	0	13	4

From the British Museum, Additional MS. 7099 fols. 41-95: printed in [S. Bentley] *Excerpta Historica or Illustrations of English History*, 113-33 London, 1831; *The Historical Magazine* 2nd ser. III, No. 3, 134 C; Desimoni, op. cit., 237 (in part); Harriſſe, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 256, 267, 270 and 272 (from Bentley); J. F. Nicholls and J. Taylor, op.

<sup>1</sup> From 22 August, 1496, to 21 August, 1497.

<sup>2</sup> References to this man will be found also in Addit. MS. 21480 fols. 58 and 76v.

<sup>3</sup> From 22 August, 1501, to 21 August, 1502.

<sup>4</sup> From October the first onwards the correct number 18 is given. The eighteenth year ran from 22 August 1502 to 21 August 1503.

<sup>5</sup> From 22 August, 1503, to 21 August, 1504.

<sup>6</sup> From 22 August, 1504, to 21 August, 1505.



cit., 73; Tarducci, op. cit., 325-6 (from Bentley); Weare, op. cit., 154-5; and Beazley, op. cit., 267-8 and 271-2.

## VII.

23 August, 1497.

### LORENZO PASQUALIGO'S LETTER FROM LONDON.

Copia de uno capitolo scrive in una lettera sier Lorenzo Pasqualigo, fo di sier Filippo, da Londra a di 23 avosto a sier Alvixe e Francesco Pasqualigo, suo fradeli in Veniexia. Ricevuta adi 23 settembre 1497.

L'è venuto sto nostro veneziano che ando con uno navilio di Bristo a trovar ixole nove, e dice haver trovato lige 700 lontam di qui terra ferma ch'è el paexe del gram cam; ed è andato per la costa lige 300 ed è desmontato e non a visto persona alcuna, ma a portato qui al re certi lazi ch'era tesi per prender salvadexine e uno ago da far rede, e a trovato certi albori talati siche per questo judicha che ze persone; vene in nave per dubito, et è stato mexi tre sul viazo, e questo è certo. E al tornar aldreto a visto do ixole ma non ha voluto desender per non perder tempo che la vituaria li manchava. Sto re ne habuto grande a piacer; e dize che le aque è stanche e non hano corso come qui. El re li ha promesso a tempo novo navili x armati come lui vorà ed ali dato tutti i presonieri da traditori in fuora che vadano con lui, come lui a rechiesto, e ali dato danari fazi bona ziera sino a quel tempo, ed è con so moler veneziana e con so fioli a Bristo. El qual se chiama Zuam Talbot e chiamasi el gran armirante e vienli fato grande honor e va vestido de seda, e sti inglexi li vano driedi a mo pazi, e pur ne volese tanti quanti navrebe con lui, et *etiam* molti de nostri furfanti. Sto inventor de queste cose a impiantato sul tereni a trovato una gran + [i.e. croce] con una bandiera de Ingeltera e una di San Marcho per esser lui veneziano, siche el nostro confalone se steso molto in qua.

From the Diarii di Sanuto in the Biblioteca nazionale di S. Marco at Venice, MSS. Italiani Cl. 7, No. 419 (vol. I), fol. 374 verso; printed in Rawdon Brown, *Ragguali sulla vita e sulle opere di Marin Sanuto*, part. I, pp. 99-100, Venezia, 1837; Marin Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. I, cols. 806-7, Venezia, 1879; Desimoni, op. cit., 227-8; Barrera Pezzi, op. cit., 15, note 3; Harrisse, op. cit., 322; Tarducci, op. cit., 326-7; *Raccolta Colombiana*, pt. III, v. II, p. 109; and Weare, op. cit. 138-9.



## VIIA.

Copy of a Paragraph in a Letter ser Lorenzo Pasqualigo [son of] the late ser Philip wrote from London on 23 August to ser Alvise and Francesco Pasqualigo, his brothers, in Venice. Received on 23 September, 1497.

That Venetian of ours who went with a small ship from Bristol to find new islands has come back and says he has discovered mainland 700 leagues away, which is the country of the Grand Khan, and that he coasted it for 300 leagues and landed and did not see any person; but he has brought here to the king<sup>1</sup> certain snares which were spread to take game and a needle for making nets, and he found certain notched [or felled] trees so that by this he judges that there are inhabitants. Being in doubt he returned to his ship; and he has been three months on the voyage; and this is certain. And on the way back he saw two islands, but was unwilling to land, in order not to lose time, as he was in want of provisions. The king here is much pleased at this; and he [Cabot] says that the tides are slack and do not run as they do here. The king has promised him for the spring ten armed ships as he [Cabot] desires, and has given him all the prisoners to be sent away, that they may go with him, as he has requested; and has given him money that he may have a good time until then, and he is with his Venetian wife and his sons at Bristol. His name is Zuam Talbot and he is called the Great Admiral and vast honour is paid to him and he goes dressed in silk, and these English run after him like mad, and indeed he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our rogues as well. The discoverer of these things planted on the land which he has found a large cross with a banner of England and one of St. Mark, as he is a Venetian, so that our flag has been hoisted very far afield.

Also translated in Rawdon Brown, *Calendar, &c.*, I, 262, No. 752; *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October 21, 1865*, 20-1, Cambridge, 1866 (from Brown); *The Historical Magazine*, 2nd series, III, No. 3, 134 D (from Brown); Nicholls and Taylor, *op. cit.*, 294-5; Weise, *op. cit.*, 189-90 (from Brown); J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 53, London, 1866 (from Brown); Markham, *op. cit.*, 201-2; *American History Leaflet*, No. 9, 5-6 (from Brown); *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, IX, 35-6, Halifax, 1895 (from Brown);

<sup>1</sup> Henry VII.

Weare, op. cit., 139-40 (from Brown); Beazley, op. cit., 60-1; *Old South Leaflet* No. 115, 1-2, Boston, 1902 (from Brown); and E. G. Bourne, *The Voyages of the Cabots* in volume I of *Original Narratives of Early American History*, ed. by J. F. Jameson, LL.D., 423-4, New York, 1906.

## VIII.

Extract from a dispatch of 24 August, 1497.

RAIMONDO DI SONCINO TO THE DUKE OF MILAN.

LE NOVE HAVUTE QUESTA MATINA DE INGLITERRA PER LITTERE  
DE XXIII AUGUSTI

....Item la Magista de Re sono mesi passati havia mandato uno Veneciano el qual e molto bono marinare et a bona scientia de trovare insule nove, e ritornato a salvamento et a ritrovato due insule nove grandissime et fructiffere et *etiam* trovato le Septe Citade lontane da l'insula de Ingliterra lege 400 per lo camino de ponente: la Maista de Re questo primo bono tempo gli vole mandare xv in xx navili, etc.....

From the Public Record Office, Venetian Transcripts, No. 195, at the date. The original cannot now be found in the Archivio di Stato at Milan whence in 1860 the late Mr. Rawdon Brown procured the above copy, and the authorities think it has been stolen: printed in HARRISSE, op. cit., 323; TARDEUCCI, op. cit., 327 (from HARRISSE); and WEARE, op. cit., 143 (from HARRISSE). The text given by Signor C. Bullo in his *La vera patria di Nicolò de' Conti e di Giovanni Caboto*, p. 60, and reprinted thence by DESIMONI (op. cit., 228-9), HARRISSE (op. cit., 323), and WEARE (op. cit., 142-3), is according to Signor I. Macagnani, the Director of the Archives at Milan, merely a modernised version of the above done to make the old Italian more intelligible.

## VIII.A.

News received this morning from England by letters [of Raimondo di Soncino] dated 24 August.

... Also some months ago his maiestv the kin<sup>ol</sup> sent out a Venetian who is a very good mariner and has considerable skill

<sup>1</sup> Henry VII.

in discovering new islands, and he has returned safe, and has found two new very large and fertile islands, and also discovered the Seven Cities, 400 leagues from the island of England, on the western passage. This next spring his majesty the king means to send him out with fifteen or twenty ships.....

Also translated in Rawdon Brown, op. cit., 260, No. 750; *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October 21, 1865*, 21-2 (from Brown); *The Historical Magazine*, 2nd series, III, No. 3, 134 E; *American History Leaflet*, No. 9, 6-7; *Old South Leaflet*, No. 115, p. 2 (from Brown); Markham, op. cit., 202; Weare, op. cit., 143-4 (from Brown); Beazley, op. cit., 62; and Bourne, op. cit., 424-5.

## IX.

13 December, 1497.

## PENSION OF TWENTY POUNDS PER ANNUM GRANTED TO JOHN CABOT.

Memorandum quod xxviii die januarii anno subscripto istud breve liberatum fuit domino Cancellario Anglie apud Westmonasterium exequendum.

Henry by the grace of God King of England and of ffrance and lord of Irland, To the most reverend fadre in God John, Cardinal archiebishshop of Cantrebury, prymate of all England, and of the apostolique see legate, our chaunceller, greeting: We late you wite that We for certaine considerations us specially moevying have yeven and graunted unto our welbiloved John Calbot of the parties of Venice an annuitie or annuel rent of twenty poundes sterling, to be had and yerely perceyved from the fest of thanunciation of our lady last passed<sup>1</sup> during our pleasur of our custumes and subsidies commying and growing in our Poort of Bristowe by thands of our custumers ther for the tyme beyng at Michelmas<sup>2</sup> and Estre by even porcions, Wherefor we wol and charge you that under our grete seal ye do make heruppon our letters patentes in god and effectual forme Yeven undre our Pryve Seal at our paloyes of Westminster the xiii<sup>th</sup> day of Decembre The xiii<sup>th</sup> yere of our Reigne.

HORWOOD.

<sup>1</sup> 25 March, 1497.<sup>2</sup> 29 September.

From the Public Record Office, Chancery Privy Seal, December, 13 Henry VII, 22nd in packet: printed in Winsor, op. cit., III, 56; Harrisse, *John Cabot*, etc., 392 (from the original); Weare, op. cit., 128; and Beazley, op. cit., 92-3.

X.

18 December, 1497.

SECOND DISPATCH OF RAIMONDO DI SONCINO TO THE DUKE  
OF MILAN.

Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo Segnor mio.

Forsi che tra tante occupatione de Vostra Excellentia, non li sara molesto intendere como questa Maiestà ha guadagnato una parte de Asia senza colpo de spada. In questo regno è uno popolare venetiano chiamato messer Zoanne Caboto, de gentile ingenio, peritissimo de la navigatione, el quale, visto che li serenissimi Re, prima de Portugallo, poi de Spagna, hanno occupato isole incognite, delibero fare uno simile acquisto per ditta Maiestà, et impetrato privilegii regii, che l'utile dominio de quanto el trovasse fussi suo, per che lo diretto se reserva a la corona, cum uno piccolo navilio et xviii persone se pose a la fortuna, et partitosi da Bristo, porto occidentale de questo regno, et passato Ibernia, piu occidentale, et poi alzatosi verso el septentrione, comencio ad navigare a le parte orientale, lassandosi (fra qualche giorni) la tramontana ad mano drita, et havendo asai errato in fine capito a terra ferma, dove posto la bandera regia et tolto la possessione per questa Alteza, et preso certi segnali, se ne retornato. Al ditto messer Zoanne, como alienigena et povero, non saria creduto, se li compagni chi sono quasi tutti inglesi et da Bristo, non testificasserro cio che lui dice essere vero. Esso messer Zoanne ha la descriptione del mundo in una carta et anche in una sphaera solida che lui ha fatto, et demonstra dove è capitato, et andando verso el levante ha passato asai el paese del Tanais. Et dicono che la è terra optima et temperata, et estimanno che vi nasca el brasilio et le sete, et affirmanno che quello mare è coperto de pessi, li quali se prendenno non solo cum la rete ma cum le ciste, essendoli alligato uno saxo ad cio che la cista se impozi in l'aqua, et questo io l'ho oldito narrare al



ditto messer Zoanne. Et ditti inglesi suoi compagni dicono che portaranno tanti pessi che questo regno non haverà più bisogno de Islanda, del quale paese vene una grandissima mercantia de pessi che si chiamanno stochfissi. Ma messer Zoanne ha posto l'animo ad maggior cosa, per che pensa da quello loco occupato andarsene sempre a riva riva più verso el levante, tanto ch'el sia al opposito de un isola da lui chiamata Cipango, posta in la regione equinoctiale, dove crede che nascano tutte le speciarie del mundo et anche le gioie; et dice che altre volte esso è stato a la Meccha, dove per caravane de luntani paesi sono portate le speciarie, et domandati quelli chi le portano, dove nascono ditte speciarie, respondanno che non sanno, ma che venghono cum questa mercantia da luntani paesi ad casa sua altre caravane, le quale ancora dicono che ad loro sono portate da altre remote regioni. Et fa questo argomento, che se li orientali affermano a li meridionali che queste cose venghono lontano da loro, et così de mano in mano, presupposta la rotundità de la terra, è necessario che li ultimi le tolliano al septentrione verso l'occidente. Et dicello per modo che non me costando più come costa, ancora io lo credo. Et che è maggior cosa, questa Maestà che è savia et non prodiga, ancora lei li presta qualche fede, per che dopio ch'el è tornat<sup>o</sup>, li dà asai bona provisione, come esso messer Zoanne me dice. Et a tempo novo se dice che la Maestà prefata armara alcuni navilii, et ultra li dà tutti li malfatori, et andarano in quello paese ad fare una colonia, mediante la quale sperano de fare in Londres maggior fondaco de speciarie che non sia in Alexandria. Et li principali de la impresa sono de Bristo, grandi marinari, li quali hora che sanno dove andare, dicono che la non è navigatione de più che xv giorni, ne hanno mai fortuna como albandonano Ibernia. Ho ancora parlato cum uno Borgognone, compagno de messer Zoanne, chi afferma tutto, et vole tornarci, per che lo Armirante (che già messer Zoanne così se intitula) li ha donato una isola, et ne ha donato una altra ad uno suo barbero da Castione Genoese, et intrambi se reputanno conti, ne monsignor l'armirante se estima manco de principe. Credo ancora andarano cum questo passaggio alcuni poveri frati italiani, li quali tutti hanno promissione de vescovati. Et per essere io fatto amico de l'armirante, quando volessi andarvi, haverei uno Archivescovato, ma ho pensato ch'el sia più sicura cosa li beneficii quali Vostra Excellentia me ha reservati, et perho supplico che quando vacasserro in mia absentia, la me faccia dare la possessione, ordenando fra questo meglio dove bisogna, che non me siano tolti da altri, li quali per essere pre-

senti possonno essere piu diligenti di me<sup>1</sup>, el quale sono ridotto in questo paese ad mangiare ogni pasto de x o xii vivande, et stare tre hore ad tavola per volta, ogni giorno due volte, per amore de Vostra Excellentia. A la quale humilmente me recomando.

Excellentie Vestre  
humillissimus servus,

RAIMUNDUS.

Londonie xviii Decembris 1497.

[Endorsed] Ill<sup>mo</sup> ac Ex<sup>mo</sup> Princepi,  
Duci Mediolani, etc.  
et Domino meo Colen<sup>mo</sup>,

From the Real Archivio di Stato at Milan, Potenze Estere, Inghilterra, at the date: original: printed in *Annuario Scientifico ed Industriale*, anno secondo, 1865, pp. 700-2 Milano, 1866; C. Barrera Pezzi,<sup>2</sup> op. cit., 44-6; Desimoni, op. cit., 229-31; HARRISSE, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 324-6; *Raccolta Colombiana*, pt. III, vol. I, 197-8; Tarducci, op. cit., 328-30; and Weare, op. cit., 144-7.

# XA.

My most Illustrious and most Excellent Lord.

Perhaps amidst so many occupations of your Excellency it will not be unwelcome to learn how his majesty here<sup>3</sup> has acquired a portion of Asia without a stroke of his sword. In this kingdom there is a lower class Venetian named Master Zoanne Caboto, of a fine mind, very expert in navigation, who, seeing that the most serene kings, first of Portugal, then of Spain have occupied unknown islands, meditated the achievement of a similar acquisition for his majesty aforesaid, and having obtained royal grants securing to himself the profitable control of what-

<sup>1</sup> This was the usual demand at the close of each of Soncino's letters. On 21 October he had written: "Supplico V. Ex. se degni provvedere che li beneficii quali me ha concessi, ogni volta che vacarano, siano mei, ben che io sia absente; cio è la parrochiale de Galignano cremonensis diocesis presso Soncino tre milia, el primo canonicato de Piasenza, et lo primo de Santo Stefano de Milano," etc. Cf. also the close of his dispatch of 6 December. Archivio di Stato at Milan, Potenze Estere, Inghilterra, at the dates.

<sup>2</sup> It has not been possible to see a copy of his *Documenti inediti italo-ispani*.

<sup>3</sup> Henry VII.

ever he should discover, since the sovereignty was reserved to the crown, with a small ship and eighteen persons he committed himself to fortune and set out from Bristol, a western port of this kingdom, and having passed Ireland, which is still further to the west and then shaped a northerly course, he began to navigate to the eastern parts, leaving (during several days) the North star to the right; and having wandered about considerably, at length he fell in with *terra firma*, where he set up the royal standard, and having taken possession for this king and collected several tokens, he came back again. The said Master Zoanne, being a foreigner and a poor man, would not be believed if the crew, who are nearly all English and from Bristol, did not testify that what he says is true. This Master Zoanne has a drawing of the world on a map and also on a solid globe, which he has made, and shows the point he reached, and going towards the east, he has passed considerably the country of the Tanais.<sup>1</sup> And they say that the land is excellent and [the air] temperate, and they think that Brazil wood and silks grow there; and they affirm that the sea is covered with fish which are caught not merely with nets but with baskets, a stone being attached to make the basket sink in the water, and this I heard the said Master Zoanne relate. And said Englishmen, his companions, say that they will fetch so many fish that this kingdom will have no more need of Iceland, from which country there comes a very great store of fish which are called stock-fish. But Master Zoanne has set his mind on something greater; for he expects to go from that place already occupied, constantly hugging the shore, further towards the east until he is opposite an island called by him Cipango, situated in the equinoctial region, where he thinks grow all the spices of the world and also the precious stones; and he says that once upon a time he was at Mecca, whither the spices are brought by caravan from distant countries, and those who brought them, on being asked where the said spices grow, answered that they did not know, but that other caravans come with this merchandise to their homes from distant countries, who again say that they are brought to them from other remote regions. And he argues thus, that if the orientals affirm to the southerners, that these things come from a distance, and so from hand to hand, presupposing the rotundity of the earth, it must be that the last people gets them in the north towards the west. And he speaks of it in such a way that not costing me more than it does, I too believe him. And what is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S. E. Dawson, *The Voyages of the Cabots*, Appendix E, Ottawa, 1897.

more, his majesty here, who is wise and not lavish, likewise puts some faith in him; for since his return he makes him a very fair allowance, as this Master Zoanne himself tells me. And it is said that in the spring his majesty aforesaid will fit out some ships, and besides will give him all the malefactors, and they will proceed to that country to form a colony, by means of which they hope to establish a greater dépôt for spices in London than there is at Alexandria. And the chief men in the enterprise belong to Bristol, great sailors, who now that they know where to go, say that it is not more than a fifteen days' voyage thither, nor do they ever have storms after they leave Ireland. I have also talked with a Burgundian, a companion of Master Zoanne's, who confirms everything and wishes to return there because the Admiral (for thus Master Zoanne now styles himself) has given him an island; and he has given another to a barber of his from Genoese Castiglione<sup>1</sup>, and both of them consider themselves counts, nor does my Lord the Admiral esteem himself less than a prince. I think that on this voyage will also go some poor Italian monks who all have promises of bishoprics. And having become a friend of the Admiral's, if I wish to go I should have an archbishopric, but I have thought the benefices which your Excellency has reserved for me a safer thing, and I beg indeed that should any become vacant in my absence, Your Excellency will see that possession is given to me, making the necessary arrangements in the meanwhile that they be not taken from me by others, who being on the spot, are able to be much more diligent than I, who am reduced in this country to eating at every meal ten or twelve courses and to remaining three hours at table each time, twice a day, for love of Your Excellency, to whom I humbly recommend myself.

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

RAIMUNDUS.

London, 18 December, 1497.

Also translated in Weise, *op. cit.*, 192-4; Winsor, *op. cit.*, III, 54-5; *American History Leaflet*, No. 9, 7-9; *Old South Leaflet*, No. 115, 2-4; Markham, *op. cit.*, 203-6; Prowse, *op. cit.*, 11; Weare, *op. cit.*, 147-50; Beazley, *op. cit.*, 62-5; and Bourne, *op. cit.*, 425-9.

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<sup>1</sup> Now Castiglione Chiavarese, south-east of Genoa. Mr. A. W. Whitehead kindly helped to identify this place.



## XI.

3 February, 1498.

## SECOND LETTERS PATENT TO JOHN CABOT.

## DE LICENCIA CABOTO.

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., Salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gratia nostra speciali, ac certis consideracionibus nos specialiter moventibus, dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes damus et concedimus dilecto nobis Johanni Caboto, Veniciano, sufficientem potestatem et auctoritatem, quod ipse per se deputatum seu deputatos suos sufficientes sex naves huius regni Anglie in quocumque portu seu portubus sive aliis locis infra idem regnum nostrum aut obedienciam nostram, sic quod dicte naves sint portagii ducentorum doliorum vel infra, cum apparatus suis pro salvo conductu earundem navium ad libitum suum capiendi et providendi, navesque illas ad terram et insulas per ipsum Johannem nuperrime inventas conducendi, solvendo pro eisdem navibus et earum qualibet tantum quantum nos solveremus et non ultra, si pro nostro negotio et causa capte fuissent et provise. Et quod idem Johannes per se aut deputatum sive deputatos suos sufficientes omnes et singulos marinarios, magistros, pagettos ac subditos nostros quoscumque qui ex eorum libera voluntate secum in dictis navibus versus et usque terram et insulas predictas transire et transmeare voluerint, in naves huiusmodi et earum quamlibet capere et recipere possit et valeat, absque impedimento, impetitione seu perturbacione aliquorum officiariorum, ministrorum seu subditorum nostrorum quorumcumque per ipsos seu eorum aliquem prefato Johanni deputato sive deputatis suis aut aliis subditis nostris predictis seu eorum alicui in comitiva eiusdem Johannis in navibus predictis ad terram et insulas predictas transeuntibus inferendo aut attemptari permittendo. Damus universis et singulis officiariis, ministris et subditis nostris presentes litteras nostras visuris et auditoris absque ulteriori mandato per nos eisdem sive eorum alicui faciendo, tenore presencium, firmiter in mandatis, quod eidem Johanni ac deputatis suis predictis aliisque nostris subditis secum, ut premittitur, transeuntibus in premissis faciendis et exequendis faventes sint consulentes et auxiliantes in omnibus

diligenter. In cuius, etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, tercio die februaryii.

Per ipsum Regem, et de data, etc.

From the Public Record Office, Treaty Roll 179, membrane 1 (old number 6); printed in HARRISSE, *John Cabot*, etc., 393-4; WEARE, op. cit., 158-9; and BEAZLEY, op. cit., 270-1.

## XIA.

3 February, 1498.

[Memorandum quod tercio die februaryii anno regni regis Henrici septimi xiii<sup>o</sup> ista billa deliberata fuit domino Cancellario Anglie apud Westm<sup>o</sup>nasterium exequenda.]

To the kinge

Pleas it your highnesse, of your moste noble and habundaunt grace, to graunte to John Kabotto, Venician, your gracious letters patentes in due fourme to be made accordyng to the tenour hereafter ensuyng, and he shal contynually praye to God for the preservacion of your moste noble and roiall astate longe to endure.

H[en]R[icus] Rex.

To all men to whom thies presentis shall come, send gretyng: Knowe ye that we of our grace especiall and for dyvers causis us movyng we have geven and graunten and by thies presentes geve and graunte to our wel beloved John Kaboto, Venician, sufficiente auctorite and power that he by hym, his deputie or deputies sufficient may take at his pleasure vi englysshe shippes in any porte or portes or other place within this our realme of Englonde or obeisaunce, so that and if the said shippes be of the bourdeyn of cc tonnes or under, with their apparail requisite and necessarie for the saveconduct of the seid shippes, and theym convey and lede to the londe and Iles of late founde by the seid John in oure name and by our commaundemente, paying for theym and every of theym as and if we shuld in or for our owen cause paye and noon otherwise.

And that the seid John by hym, his deputie or deputies sufficiente maye take and receyve into the seid shippes and every of theym all suche Maisters, Maryners, pages and our subiectes, as of their owen free wille woll goo and passe with hym in the

same shippes to the seid londe or Iles withoute any impedymente, lett or perturbaunce of any of our officers or ministres or subiectes whatsoevir they be by theym to the seid John, his deputie or deputies and all other our seid subiectes or any of theym passing with the seid John in the seid shippes to the seid londe or Iles to be doon or suffer to be doon or attempted. Yeven in commaundement to all and every our officers, ministres and subiectes seying or herying thies our letters patentes, without any ferther commaundement by us to theym or any of theym to be geven, to perfourme and socour the seid John, his deputie and all our seid subiectes so passyng with hym according to the tenour of thies our letters patentes, any statute, acte or ordenaunce to the contrarye made or to be made in any wise notwithstanding.

From the Public Record Office, Chancery Warrants for Privy Seal, February, 13 Henry VII (4th in packet); printed in Nicholls and Taylor, op. cit., 296; [R. Biddle], *A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, etc.*, 74-5 Philadelphia, 1831; J. W. Jones, Introduction to the reprint of Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, pp. LXXII-III, London, 1850; Desimoni, op. cit., 232-3; Harri-  
 risse, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 327-8; Markham, op. cit., 206-7; Tarducci, op. cit., 330-1; *Raccolta Colombiana*, parte V, vol. II, 217-8; Weare, op. cit., 156-7; and Beazley, op. cit., 95-6.

As early as 1589 Hakluyt quoted the Rolls Office Memorandum of these letters patent in his *Principall Navigations*, 511 (London, 1589). Cf also *ibid*, III, 5-6, London, 1600.

## XII.

22 February, 1498.

### WARRANT FROM HENRY VII FOR THE PAYMENT OF JOHN CABOT'S PENSION.

Henry by the grace of God King of England and of ffrance and lord of Irland To the Tresourer and Chambrelains of oure Eschequier greting:

Where as We by oure warrant under oure signet for certain considerations have yeven and graunted unto John Caboote xx*li*. [£20] yerely during oure pleasur to be had and perceyved by the handes of oure Customers in oure poorte of Bristowe, and as we be enfourmed the said John Caboote is dilaied of his paye-

ment bicause the said Custumers have no sufficient matier of discharge for their indempnitie to be yolden at their accomptes before the Barons of oure Eschequier; Wherefore we wol and charge you that ye oure said Treasourer and Chambrelains that now be and hereafter shallbe, that ye, unto suche tyme as ye shall have from us otherwise in commaundement, do to be levied in due fourme ij severall tailles, every of theim conteignying x*li*. upon the Customers of the revenues in our said poort of Bristowe at two usuell termes of the yere, whereof oon taill to be levied at this tyme conteignying x*li*. of the Revenues of oure said poort upon Richard Meryk and Arthure Kemys, late Custumers of the same, And the same taill or tailles in due and sufficient fourme levied ye delyver unto the said John Cabote to be had of oure gift by way of rewarde without prest or eny other charge to be sette upon hym or any of theim for the same. And thies our letters shalbe youre sufficient warrant in that behalf. Yeven undre oure prive seal at oure manour of Chene the xxii<sup>th</sup> day of ffebruary The xiii<sup>th</sup> yere of oure Reigne.

BOLMAN.

From the Public Record Office, Exchequer of Receipt, Warrants for Issue, No. 82 (8th in packet): printed in Harisse, *John Cabot*, etc., 394; Weare, op. cit., 129-30; and Beazley, op. cit., 93-4.

### XIII.

25 March, 1498.

#### PENSION PAID TO JOHN CABOT.

Bristollie.

Visus computi Arthuri Kemys et Ricardi A Meryk Collectorum Custumarum et Subsidiarum domini Regis in portu ville Bristollie et in singulis partibus et locis eidem portui adjacentibus, videlicet, de huius custumis et subsidiis domini Regis ibidem a festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli Anno xiii<sup>o</sup> domini Regis nunc Henrici septimi usque festum Pasche accidens xv<sup>mo</sup> die Aprilis tunc proximo sequentis, scilicet per medietatem unius Anni et xvj dies ut infra.

.....  
Et eisdem—x*li*. per ipsos solutas Georgio Herbert pro Annuitate sua ad xx*li*. per Annum sibi per dominum Regem per literas suas patentes concessas, solvendas ad duos Anni



Terminos de Custumis et Subsidiis in dicto portu Bristollie provenientes et crescentes, videlicet, pro termino Annunciacionis beate Marie virginis infra dictum tempus huius visus accidentis, per unam acquietancionem ipsius Georgii inde super hunc visum ostensam et penes dictos collectores remanentem.

Et eisdem—*xxli.* per ipsos solutas Johanni Calboto, veniciano, nuper de villa Bristollie predicta, pro Annuitate sua ad *xxli.* per Annum sibi per dictum dominum Regem nunc per literas suas patentes concessas<sup>1</sup> percipiendas ad duos Anni Terminos de Custumis et Subsidiis in dicto portu ville Bristollie provenientes et crescentes, videlicet pro Termino Annunciacionis beate Marie virginis infra tempus huius visus accidentis, per unam Acquietancionem ipsius Johannis inde super hunc visum ostensam et penes dictos Collectores remanentem.....

From the Public Record Office, Exchequer Q. R. Customs, 29<sup>th</sup>: printed in Weare, op. cit., 131; and in G. P. Winship, *Cabot Bibliography*, p. 67, London, 1900.

### XIII.A.

Bristol. View of the account of Arthur Kemys and Richard ap Meryk, collectors of the customs and subsidies of our lord the king in the port of the town of Bristol, and in the separate ports and places adjacent to the same port, to wit, of such customs and subsidies of the king there from Michaelmas [29 September] in the thirteenth year of our lord the king now Henry VII [1497] until the Feast of Easter happening on 15 April then next following [1498], to wit, for the moiety of one year and fifteen days as above.

.....

And £10 paid by them to George Herbert for his annuity of £20 a year granted to him by our said lord the king by his letters patent, to be paid at two terms out of the customs and subsidies arising and growing in the said port of Bristol, to wit, for the term of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary [25 March] falling within the time of this view [1498] by a quittance thereof of the same George shown upon this view and remaining in the possession of the said collectors.

And £10 paid by them to John Calbot, a Venetian, late of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Vid.nos. IX and XII, pp. 16 and 24-5.

town of Bristol aforesaid, for his annuity of £20 a year granted to him by our said lord the king by his letters patent, to be taken at two terms of the year out of the customs and subsidies arising and growing in the said port of the town of Bristol, to wit, for the term of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary [25 March, 1498] falling within the time of this view, by a quittance of the said John, shown upon this view and remaining in the possession of the said collectors.....

Also translated in Weare, op. cit., 131-2 and in full in *ibid.*, appendix C, 333-6.

#### XIV.

25 July, 1498.<sup>1</sup>

DISPATCH OF PEDRO DE AYALA TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

...Bien creo *Vuestras Altezas an oido*<sup>2</sup> como *el rey de Inglaterra ha fecho armada para descubrir ciertas insulas o tierra firme* que le han certificado hallaron ciertos que de Bristol armaron el año passado para lo mismo. Yo he visto la carta que ha fecho el inventador que es otro Ginoves como Colon que ha estado en Sevilla i en Lisbona procurando haver quien le ayudasse a esta invencion. Los de Bristol, ha siete años que cada año an armado dos, tres, quatro caravelas para ir a buscar la isla del Brasil i las Siete Ciudades con la fantasia deste Ginoves. El rei determino de enbiar, porque el año passado le truxo certinidad havian hallado tierra. Del armada que hizo, que fueron cinco naos, fueron avituallados por un año. Ha venido nueva, la una en que iba un otro Frai Buil aporto a Irlanda con gran trmenta, roto el navio. El Ginoves tiro su camino. Yo, vista la derrota que llevan y la cantidad del camino, hallo que es lo que han hallado o bucan (sic) lo que *Vuestras Altezas poseen*, porque es al cabo que a *Vuestras Altezas cupo* por la convenencia con Portugal. Sperase seran venidos para el setienbre. Hago lo saber a *Vuestras Altezas*. El Rei me a fablado algunas vezes sobrello; spera aver muy gran interesse. Creo no ai quatrocientas leguas. Lo le dixe, creya eran las halladas por *Vuestras Altezas*, i aun le dia la una razon, no lo querria. Porque creo *Vuestras Altezas ia tendran* aviso de todo esto y ansimismo al carta o *napamundi* (sic) que

<sup>1</sup> For a supposed dispatch of De Puebla's of this date, vid. *Revue Hispanique*, tome XV, 482-5 Paris, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> The words in italic are in cipher in the original.

*este ha fecho, io no le enbio aora, que aqui le ai, y a mi ver bien falso por dar a entender, no son de las islas dichas. . . .*

De Londres a xxv de Julio.

From the Archives at Simancas, *Tratados con Inglaterra*, leg. 2°, fol. 196: original: printed in Desimoni, *op. cit.*, 234-5; HARRISSE, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 329-30; TARDUCCI, *op. cit.*, 332-3; *Raccolta Colombiana*, parte V, vol. II, p. 218; and WEARE, *op. cit.*, 160-1 (from HARRISSE).

#### XIVA.

...I think Your Highnesses have already heard how the king of England<sup>1</sup> has equipped a fleet to explore certain islands or mainland which he has been assured certain persons who set out last year from Bristol in search of the same have discovered. I have seen the map made by the discoverer, who is another Genoese like Columbus, who has been in Seville and at Lisbon seeking to obtain persons to aid him in this discovery. For the last seven years the people of Bristol have equipped two, three [and] four caravels to go in search of the island of Brazil and the Seven Cities according to the fancy of this Genoese. The king made up his mind to send thither, because last year sure proof was brought him they had found land. The fleet he prepared, which consisted of five vessels, was provisioned for a year. News has come that one of these, in which sailed another Friar Buil<sup>2</sup>, has made land in Ireland in a great storm with the ship badly damaged. The Genoese kept on his way. Having seen the course they are steering and the length of the voyage, I find that what they have discovered or are in search of is possessed by Your Highnesses because it is at the cape which fell to Your Highnesses by the convention with Portugal<sup>3</sup>. It is hoped they will be back by September. I let (? will let) Your Highnesses know about it. The king has spoken to me several times on the subject. He hopes the affair may turn out profitable. I believe the distance is not 400 leagues. I told him that I believed the islands were those found by Your Highnesses, and although I gave him the main reason, he would not have it. Since I believe Your Highnesses will already have notice of all

<sup>1</sup> Henry VII.

<sup>2</sup> Who sailed with Columbus on his second voyage.

<sup>3</sup> The treaty of Tordesillas. cf. p. XV., note 2.

this and also of the chart or mappemonde which this man has made, I do not send it now, although it is here, and so far as I can see exceedingly false, in order to make believe that these are not part of the said islands [of Your Highnesses].....

London, 25 July, 1498.

Also translated in Bergenroth op. cit., 176-7, No. 210 (the sentence about the convention with Portugal being omitted); *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for 21 October 1865*, 25-6 (from Bergenroth); Weise, op. cit., 195-6; Nicholls and Taylor, op. cit., III, 296-7 (from Bergenroth); *The Historical Magazine*, 2nd ser. III, No. 3, 134 F, (ditto); Markham, op. cit., 208-9; *Old South Leaflet* No. 115, p. 5; Prowse, op. cit., 29; Weare, op. cit., 161-3 (from Bergenroth); Beazley, op. cit., 101-2; and Bourne, op. cit., 429-30.

## XV.

29 September 1499

### PAYMENT OF JOHN CABOT'S PENSION.

#### BRISTOLLE: THE ACCOUNTES OF THE CUSTYMERS.

Arthurus Kemys et Ricardus a Meryk, Collectores Custumarum et Subsidiarum domini Regis lanarum Corriorum et pellium lanutarum in portu ville Bristollie a festo sancti Michaelis archangeli anno xij<sup>mo</sup> Regis Henrici vij<sup>mi</sup> usque idem festum sancti Michaelis tunc proxime sequens, reddunt Computum, etc.....

Bristoll. Arthurus Kemys et Ricardus a Meryk, Collectores Custumarum et Subsidiarum Regis ibidem a festo Sancti Michaelis archangeli anno xiiij<sup>mo</sup> Regis nunc usque idem festum Sancti Michaelis tunc proxime sequens reddunt Computum de + mccciii<sup>xii</sup> li. viii. s. xi. d. ob.  
De quibus

Et in thesaurario in una tallia pro Thoma Lovell Milite, c. li.

Et in thesaurario in una tallia pro Johanne Caboot, xx. li.



Bristoll. Arthurus Kemys et Ricardus ap Meryke, Collectores  
 Custumarum et Subsidiarum Regis ibidem a festo Sancti  
 Michaelis archangeli anno xiii<sup>mo</sup> Regis nunc usque idem  
 festum Sancti Michaelis tunc proxime sequens, reddunt  
 Computum de + mccccxxiiii li. vii. s. x. d.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .

De quibus

.....  
 Et in thesaurario in una tallia pro Johanne Heron, xiii li.  
 vi s. viii d.

Et in thesaurario in una tallia pro Johanne Cabot, xx. li.

From the Westminster Chapter Archives, Chapter Muni-  
 cements 12243, entries nos. 2 and 3: printed in E. Scott and A.  
 E. Hudd, *The Customs Roll of the Port of Bristol A.D. 1496*  
*to 1499*, ll. 2, 3 and 4, Bristol, 1897, with facsimiles; S. E.  
 Dawson, *The Voyages of the Cabots in the Transactions of*  
*the Royal Society of Canada*, 2nd ser. III, s. II, 261, Ottawa,  
 1897; Beazley, op. cit., 273-4; and Winship, op. cit., 66-7.

#### XVA.

Arthur Kemys and Richard ap Meryke, collectors of our  
 lord the king's customs and subsidies of wool, leather and wool-  
 pells in the port of the town of Bristol from Michaelmas [29  
 September] in the 12th year of King Henry VII. to the same  
 feast next following, render their account. ....

Bristol. Arthur Kemys and Richard ap Meryk, collectors of  
 the king's customs and subsidies there from Michaelmas  
 [29 September] in the 13th year of this king [1497] to  
 the same feast next following, [29 September, 1498] ren-  
 der their account of. .... £1282 8s. 11½d.

Out of which

.....  
 And in the treasury in one talley in the name of Thomas  
 Lovell, Kt. .... £100

And in the treasury in one talley in the name of John  
 Cabot. .... £20

Bristol. Arthur Kemys and Richard ap Meryke, collectors of  
 the king's customs and subsidies there, from Michaelmas  
 [29 September] in the 14th year of this king [1498] to  
 the same feast next following, [29 September, 1499] ren-  
 der their account of. .... £1424 7s. 10¼d.

## Islands.

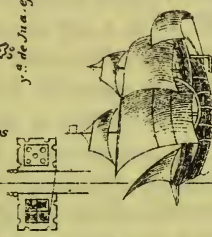
TIERA DEL LABRA

En el año 1525 oy en  
ella muchas arbores y frutas de las de  
españa y muchos  
valles y salinos: no han  
allado oro.

R. de S. Juan  
Alc. de S. Juan

OCCEANTS OCCIDENTALIS

The East - Coast of North - America by D. Ribero, in the year 1529.





Out of which

.....  
 And in the treasury in one talley in the name of John  
     Heron..... £13 6s. 8d.  
 And in the treasury in one talley in the name of John  
     Cabot..... £20.

Also translated in Scott and Hudd, op. cit., leaves 5, 6  
 and 7; and in Dawson, op. cit., loc. cit.

# XVI.

28 October 1499.

LETTERS PATENT FROM KING EMMANUEL TO JOHN FERNANDEZ.

Dom Manuel &, A quamtos esta nossa carta virem, fazemos  
 saber, que Joham Fernamdez, morador em a nosa ilha Terceira  
 nos disse que por serviço de Deos e nosso sse queira trabalhar de  
 hyr buscar e descobrir algumas ilhas de nossa conquista aa sua  
 custa, e vemdo nos seu bõo desejo e preposito, aalem de lho  
 termos em serviço, a nos praz e lhe prometemos por esta de lhe  
 darmos como de fecto daremos a capitania de quallquer Ilha ou  
 Ilhas, asy povoadas como despovoadas, que elle descobrill e achar  
 novamente, e esto com aquellas remdas, homrras, proveitos e im-  
 taresses com que temos dadas as capitanyas das nossas Ilhas da  
 Madeira e das outras; et por sua guarda e nossa lembrança lhe  
 mandamos dar esta carta per nos a sinada e assellada com o  
 nosso sello pemdente. Dada em a nossa cidade de Lixboa a  
 xxbiij° dias de mes doutubro. Andre Fernamdes a fez anno de  
 nosso Senhor Ihuu X° de mill iiij LR IX.

From the Archivo nacional da Torre do Tombo at Lisbon,  
 liv. XVI de Dom Manoel, fol. 39, and Livro das Ilhas, fol. 63v:  
 printed in Harrisse, *Les Corte-Real*, 44, note 1, Paris, 1883;  
*Archivo dos Açores* IV, 449, Ponta Delgada, 1884; and ibid  
 XII, 360, Ponta Delgada, 1893.

# XVIA.

King Emmanuel, etc., To as many as shall see this grant,  
 we make known, that John Ferdandez, dwelling on our island  
 of Terceria, has informed us, that for God's and our own  
 service, he was desirous to make an effort to seek out and  
 discover at his own expense some islands lying in our sphere



of influence, and we, in view of this, his praiseworthy desire and intention, not only thank him for it, but it is our pleasure and we hereby promise to grant him, as indeed we shall grant him, the governorship of any island or islands, either inhabited or uninhabited, which he may discover and find anew, and this with the same revenues, honours, profits and advantages we have granted to the governors of our islands of Madeira and the others; and for his protection and as a memorandum to ourselves, we order this grant, signed and sealed by us with our hanging seal, to be given to him. Given in our city of Lisbon on 28 October. Andrew Fernandes made this in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1499.

## XVII.

12 May 1500<sup>1</sup>.

## LETTERS PATENT TO GASPAR CORTE REAL.

Gaspar Corterreall: Doaçam de qualquer Ilha ou Ilhas ou terra firme que ele descobrir ou achar.

Dom Manuell, etc. A quamtos esta nosa carta de doaçaaom virem, fazemos saber, que por quanto Gaspar Corte rreall, fidalguo da nosa casa, os dias pasados, se trabalhou per sy e a sua custa, com navyos e homes, de buscar e descobrir e achar com muyto seu trabalho e despesa de sua fazemda e peryguo de sua pesoa, algumas Ilhas e terra firme, e pelo comsygyumte o quer aimda agora comthenuar e por em hobra e fazer niso quanto poder por achar as ditas Ilhas e terra, e comsyramdo nos quanto noso serviço, homra e acrecemtamento de nosos Regnnos e Senhorios sera, semelhantes ilhas e terras serem descubertas e achadas por nosos naturaes, e como o dito Gaspar Corte reall por o asy querer fazer com tanto trabalho e peryguo he mereçedor de toda honra e merce e acreçemtamento, por tanto nos praz que descobrimdo ele e achamdo alguma Ilha ou Ilhas ou terra firme, nos de noso proprio moto, poder reall e asaluto, temos por bem e lhe fazemos mercee e doaçaaom, e lhe outorgamos, que em quaes quer ilhas ou terra firme que asy novamente achar ou descobrir, ele tenha e aja de nos, de juro e de herdade pera todo sempre, as capitanyas com as cousas seguintes, a saber, a jurdyçam cyvell e cryme, com toda alçada e superi-

<sup>1</sup> Navarrete was of opinion that it was the intention of Ferdinand and Isabella in the summer of 1500 to send Juan Dornelos or Dorvelos to the region recently visited by the Cabots. M. F. de Navarrete, *Coleccion de los viages*, etc., III, 41-2 and 77-8. Madrid, 1829.

dade, alta e baixa, sem dele, nem de seus herdeiros e socesores poderem apelar nem agravar em nenhum caso, nem comthya que seja, pera nos, nem per outra alguma pessoa que noso poder tenha; e queremos que ele e seus herdeiros, e em noso nome e de nosos socesores tenham asy e governem e rejam a terra ou Ilhas que asy achar livremente e sem limitagam alguma na maneira que dito he, fycando somente a nos resguardado, quando necessario nos parecer mandarmos la huma pessoa nosa que sayba como o dito Gaspar Corte rreall husa da dita jurdigam e governamça da terra e nos trazer delo recado, pera que achamdo que nom husa ou governa as ditas Ilhas e terra como deve a serviço de Deus e noso, nos o castigarmos como virmos que he rrezam em sua pessoa somente, sem nunca lhe ser tirada a dita jurdyçaaom, nem ser dela sospemso; porem sendo caso que por nom viver asy bem como deve, o mandemos vir a nos, per asy lhe darmos na sua pessoa aquele castiguo que merece, como dito he, e emtam ele podera leixar e leixara nas ditas Ilhas e cada huma delas ou terra firme pessoa sua que por ele ouça e se chame e tenha a manistraçam das cousas da justiça e governamça da terra em seu nome e asy como ele per sy o farya, sendo porem tall pessoa de que nos sejamos comtemte; e outrosy queremos e nos praz que pola dita maneira de juro e herdade, de toda remda que nos hy ouvermos ou ordenarmos que se aja asy em uosso tempo como em tempo de nosos socesores, asy por forall, que disto prazemdo a Deus fazemos, o fezerem, como per quallquer outra maneira que de nosas remdas e direitos nas taes terras ou hylhas ordenarem ou fezerem ou ouverem, per quallquer titollo ou nome que tenha, aja o dito Gaspar Corte rreall e seus herdeiros a quarta parte livremente de todo o que asy nas ditas Ilhas ou terra em quallquer tenpo podermos aver; e sendo caso que nas ditas Ilhas ou cada huma delas ou terra firme que asy descobrir, se abram e achem alguns resgates e tratos, taes que nos per nos somente ou per nosos officiaes quisermos trautar e negociar, em tall caso nos mandaremos pagar e dar ao dito Gaspar Corte rreall e a todos seus socesores a quarta parte de todo aquelo que nos taes trautos e resgates se ouver de ganho, tirados os cabedaes e todos os custos que nos taes trautos e resgates fezermos; e isto mesmo se emtemdera e guardara no caso que nos os ditos trautos e resgates aremdemos, ou pera serem trautados per outras algumas pessoas, dermos nosas licenças e lugare; sendo caso que os ditos trautos e resgates sejam de calidade que todas e quaesquer pessoas asy das ditas Ilhas como terra

firme ou de nosos regnnos e Senhorios hos ajam e posam trautar e negociar asy como nos, emtam nom ficarmos obrigados a pagar o dito quarto; somemte lhe daremos aquele direito que as outras pessoas ouverem de dar e pagar em nos ditos traustos e resgates, lhe for posto e ordenado etc. Outrosy nos praz e queremos que ele e seus herdeiros ajam o direito das moemdas, sall e fornos e injenhos e setias dagoaa, e todo aquello que os capitaes das outras Ilhas ora tem e husaam per nosas doacoes com suas alcaidarias mores e direitos delas, e com todalas outras onras, liberdades e preininemceas que por nos lhe sam outorgadas; e por firmesa de todo lhe mandamos dar esta nosa carta e doaçaom per nos asynada e aselada de noso selo pemdente, pela quall queremos e nos praz rreallmente com todo noso Reall e asaluto poder, que o dito Gaspar Corte reall aja asy as capitanyas das ditas hylhas e terra com todallas ditas jurdyçoes, cyves e crymes, e soprioridades e rremdas e direitos e imsyçoes, como nesta carta se comthem, pera ele e todos seus herdeiros e socesores, que dele por linha direita masculina descenderem. E nom avendo hy filho baraaom a que todo asy posar<sup>1</sup> (*sic*) ficar, queremos que fique a sua filha maior, e nom avendo hy filho, nem filha, que em fique a seu parente mais chegado, macho ou femea, segumdo em cyma se comthem, e asy se guarde e rregylle em esta socesaaom dy por diamte, pera todo sempre, sem embargo da ley memtall, nem de quaesquer lex capitollos de cortes, hordenações, feitas e por fazer, que em quallquer maneira podese comtrariar a quallquer cousa do que dito he desta nosa doaçaom, aquall emcomendamos a nosos socesores, que por nosa bemçaaom a cumpram e guardem, como nela he comtheudo. Dada em a nosa villa de Symtra a XII dias de maio. Alvoro Fernamdez a fez, Anno do nacymmento de noso Senior Jeshu Christo de mill e quynhemtos annos. Nom seja duvida no rrespamcado dyz socessaom por que eu scripvam he fiz na verdade.

From the Archivo nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Chancery of Dom Manuel, liv. XIII, fol. 26: idem of Dom. João III, liv. XXXV, fol. 3; idem, liv. XLIX, fol. 244; Liv. 5º dos Misticos, fols. 46-7; and in the Livro das Ilhas, fol. 62. These copies do not differ: printed in the *Archivo dos Açores*, III, 406-8, and IV, 497-9, Ponta Delgada, 1881 and 1884: E. A. de Bettencourt, *Descbrimentos, guerras e conquistas dos Portuguezes em terras do Ultramar nos seculos XV, e XVI*,

<sup>1</sup> The letters patent of 1506 to Vasco Annes Corte Real have *filho baram a que todo assi possa ficar*. Cf. *Alguns Documentos*, p. 151.

137-41, Lisboa, 1881-2; HARRISSE, op. cit., 196-9; and in *Alguns Documentos do Archivo nacional da Torre do Tombo*, 150-2, Lisbon, 1892.

## XVIIA.

GRANT TO GASPAR CORTE REAL OF ANY ISLAND, ISLANDS OR MAINLAND HE MAY DISCOVER OR FIND.

King Emmanuel, etc. To as many as shall see this grant of ours we make known, that forasmuch as Gaspar Corte Real, a nobleman of our court, has made efforts in the past, on his own account and at his own expense, with ships and men, to search out, discover and find by dint of much labour and expenditure of his wealth and at the risk of his life, some islands and a mainland, and in consequence is now desirous of continuing this search and of setting to work and doing whatever is possible in order to discover the said islands and mainland; and we taking into consideration how greatly it will redound to our service and honour, and to the increase of our kingdoms and domains, if such islands and mainlands should be discovered and found by subjects of ours, and since the said Gaspar Corte Real in virtue of his desire to carry this out, at such risk and the expenditure of so much labour, is worthy of all honour, favour and augmentation; for this cause it is our pleasure, and we are pleased of our own motion, royal and absolute power, should he discover and find any island or islands, or mainland, to grant and give him, and we do grant him by right and heredity for ever, the governorship of any islands or mainland he may thus discover or find afresh with the following privileges, to wit: civil and criminal jurisdiction, both high and low, with full power and authority, without appeal or redress from him or from his heirs and successors in any matter or sum of money, whether for us or for any person holding power of us; and it is our wish that he and his heirs, both in our name and in that of our successors hold, govern and rule the mainland or islands so found, freely and without any hindrance whatsoever, in the manner above mentioned, agreeing only in regard to ourselves, that whenever it may seem to us necessary, we may send thither one of our people to learn how the said Gaspar Corte Real is exercising the said jurisdiction and government of the mainland, and to bring us information thereof, in order that, should we find he does not rule or govern the said islands and mainland as is



fitting to God's service and our own, we may punish him as we think proper, in his person alone, without taking from him or relieving him of the said jurisdiction. Nevertheless should he not conduct himself properly, and should we order him to appear before us to receive in his person the punishment he deserves, as has been said, he may and shall leave in the said islands and each of them, or on the mainland, one of his people to exercise and advance and carry on the administration of justice and government in his name and as he himself would if present, such person nevertheless being one agreeable to ourselves. And furthermore we desire and it is our pleasure, on account of the said right and title, that of all revenues we shall receive or order to be raised there both in our time and in that of our successors, as well as by register, should it please God we or they draw up such, as in any other manner in which they, by virtue of any title or quality whatsoever shall decree, order or have our revenues and rights collected in these lands and islands, the said Gaspar Corte Real and his heirs receive freely the fourth part of all we may thus be able to collect at any time in the said islands and mainland; and should on the said islands or on each of them or on the mainland about to be discovered, any barter or trade be opened or found, of such a nature that we either directly or through our officers should desire to trade and barter there, in this case we shall order to be paid and given to the said Gaspar Corte Real and to all his successors the fourth part of what is gained in this trade and barter, after payment of the principal and of the charges to which we have been put in this trade and barter; and this will hold good and be carried out in case we should farm the said trade and barter or should give our licence and authority for them to be carried on by others; and in case the said trade and barter be of a nature that all and any persons as well of the said islands and mainland as of our kingdom and dominions may enjoy them and may trade and barter like ourselves, then we shall not remain under any obligation to pay the said fourth part, but shall only give him the same fee that the others are obliged to give and pay for our said trade and barter, which will be appointed and ordered to him, etc. Furthermore it is our pleasure and we desire that he and his heirs have the privilege of mills, salt, ovens, machines and mill-races and all that the governors of our other islands now have and enjoy by grants from us, with the office and power of governor of a fort and the rights thereto pertaining, and with all the other honours, privileges and powers

that are granted to him by us; and in witness of all we order this grant and charter of ours, signed and sealed with our hanging seal, to be given to him, by which we desire and it is our royal pleasure by virtue of all our-royal and absolute power, that the said Gaspar Corte Real should thus hold the governorship of the said islands and mainland with all the said civil and criminal jurisdictions, powers, revenues, rights and exemptions set forth in these letters, for him and for all his heirs and successors in direct male line. And should he have there no son, to whom he could leave all this, it is our wish that he leave it to his eldest daughter; and should he have there no son or daughter, he may leave it to his nearest male or female relative, according as is set forth above, and thus it be observed and carried out in this succession thenceforward for ever, notwithstanding any mental law or capital law of the Cortes, or statute made or to be made that could in any way run counter to anything set forth in this grant of ours, which we commend to our successors, for the sake of our benediction, to be fulfilled and carried out according to the tenour thereof. Given in our town of Cintra, 12 May. Alvaro Fernandez made this in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 1500. Let there be no doubt about any erasure in this grant for verily I the notary drew it up.

### XVIII.

27 January, 1501.

GRANT BY KING EMMANUEL TO JOHN MARTINS.

JOHAM MARTINZ DA ILHA TERCEIRA PRIVILEGIO.

Dom Manuell, &c. A todollos nossos capitães, corregedores, juizes e justicas de nosos Regnos e senhorios e a quaaes quer outros officiaes e pessoas a que o conhecimento desto pertencer, per quallquer guisa que seja, e esta nosa carta for mostrada, ou o trellado della em publica forma dado per autoridade de justica for apresentado, saude: sabede que esguardamdo nos ao muyto serviço que de Gaspar Corte Reall, fidallguo de nosa casa, temos recebido no descobrimento da terra annunciada, e ao deamte esperamos receber, pello qual he merecedor de por ello lhe fazermos toda mercee e acracentamento e asy aquelles que no dito descobrimento ho ajudaram e despenderam, Temos por bem e nos praz de tomarmos ora novamente por noso vasallo a Joam

Martinz, escudeiro, criado de Joham Vaaz Corte Reall, sseu pay, e juiz dos horfaãos na villa d'Amgra da Ilha Terceira, o quall queremos que daquy em diamte seja escusado, privilegiado e guardado que nom pague nem sirva em nem hũas peitas, fintas, talhas, pedidas, servicos, emprestidos, nem outros nem hũs emcareguos que pello comcelho ou lugar omde morar forem lamcados, per qualquer guisa que seja, nem o costramgam, nem a seus amoos e caseiros que vaam com presos, nem con dinheiros, nem com nem hũas cargas, nem sejam titores, nem curadores de nem hũas pessoas que sejam, salvo se as taães tetorias forem lidimas, nem ajam oficio do comcelho comtra suas vomtades. Outro sy mandamos e defendemos, que nom seja nem hum tam ousado, de quallquer estado e comdicam que seja, que lhe pousse em suas cassas de morada, adegas, nem cavalericas, nem lhe tomem seu pam, vinho, roupa, palha, ceevada, lenha, galinhas, gadoos, nem bestas de sella, nem dalbarda, nem boys, nem carros, nem carretas, nem navyos, barquos e botes que tenham, nem outra nem hũa cousa de seu comtra suas vomtades. E porem mamdamos que lhe cumpraes e guardes e façaes muy imteiramente comprir e guardar esta nosa carta como em ella he contheudo sem embargo de quaaesquer capitollos de cortes e ordenaçoões que hy aja em contrario, ssob pena dos nossos emcoutos de seis mill ssollidos, que mandamos que pague pera nos quallquer que comtra ello for, os quaães mandamos ao nosso almoxarife de cada huũ lugar deša coreicam que os receba por nos daquelle ou daquelles que comtra esta nosa carta forem, em parte ou em todo. E mamdamos ao escripvam do almoxarifado que os carregue sobre o dito almoxarife em recepta pera nos avermos dele booa recadaçam ssob penna de as pagarem ambos de suas casas; e em caso que lhe alguns contra esta nosa carta queiram hyr, Mamdamos a vos, nosas justiça, que lho nom comsemtaes, e fazee todo compridamente correger e emmendar como for direito e justiça, por que asy he nosa merce, e que o dito Joham Martinz, nosso vassallo, aja todallas homrras, liberdades, privilegios e ysemsones que por nos sam outorgados e sse nesta nosa carta conthem. Dada em Lixboa aos xxbii dias de janeiro. Vicente Carneiro a ffez, anno do nascimento de noso senhor Jesus Christo de mill e quinhentos e hum anos.

From the Archivo nacional da Torre do Tombo, liv. XVII of D. Manoel, fol. 5: printed in the *Archivo dos Açores*, III, 195-6; Harriisse, op. cit., 199-201; and in *Alguns Documentos do Archivo nacional da Torre do Tombo*, 124-5.

XVIII<sub>A</sub>.

PRIVILEGE GRANTED TO JOHN MARTINS OF THE ISLAND OF  
TERCEIRA.

King Emmanuel, etc. To all our governors, chief magistrates, judges and law officers in our kingdoms and dominions, and to any other officials and persons whatsoever to whom the cognisance of this in any way appertains, and these letters of ours may be shown, or the copy thereof given in public form by judicial authority may be presented, Greeting:

Know that in consideration of the many services we have received from Gaspar Corte Real, a nobleman of our court, in the discovery of the land foretold, and of that which we hope in future to receive, on which account he and those who shall aid him and spend their wealth in the said discovery are worthy of every favour and increase, we are pleased and it is our pleasure to receive as our vassal John Martins, Esquire, servant to John Vaz Corte Real, his [Gaspar's] father, and judge of the orphans in the town of Angra on the island of Terceira, whom henceforth we desire to be exempt, freed and relieved from the payment or service of any tributes, imposts, taxes, impositions, services, loans or any other charges imposed in any way whatsoever by the council or village where he may dwell, nor shall they constrain him or his masters and husbandmen to go as prisoners, nor with money, nor with any kind of imposts, nor to be guardians or trustees of any one whatever, except such guardianships be legitimate, nor to hold office as counsellors against their will. Furthermore we decree and order that no one, of whatsoever estate and condition, be so bold as to lodge in their dwelling-houses, cellars or stables, nor shall they take their bread, wine, clothes, straw, barley, wood, hens, cattle, or saddle-horses, nor their pack-saddle beasts, oxen, waggons, carts, ships, barques or boats, nor anything else of theirs against their will. And furthermore we order that you fulfill and carry out and cause to be fulfilled and carried out in its entirety this grant of ours according to the tenour thereof, any law of the Cortes or decree to the contrary notwithstanding, on pain of a fine of 6,000 cts. which we order to be paid to us by any one disobeying it, and this sum is to be received for us by our tax-receiver in each village of that circumscription from him or them who disobey this grant of ours in whole or in part. And we order the clerk of the receiver's office to debit these moneys to the said receiver, to the end that we may have a correct receipt from him,



on pain of the same being paid by both of them out of their own goods. And in case any persons should seek to disobey this decree of ours, we order you, our law officers, to prevent it, and to see that all is rectified and amended according to right and justice; for such is our wish; and that the said John Martins, our vassal, enjoy all the honours, liberties, privileges and exemptions by us granted, and set forth in this our grant. Given in Lisbon on 27 January. Vicente Carneiro made this in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 1501.

## XIX.

19 March, 1501.

PETITION OF CERTAIN MERCHANTS TO HENRY VII FOR THE ISSUE  
OF LETTERS PATENT FOR DISCOVERY AND TRADE.

Memorandum quod xix die marcii anno regni regis Henrici septimi xvi<sup>o</sup> [1501] ista billa deliberata fuit domino custodi magni sigilli Anglie apud Westmonasterium exequenda.<sup>1</sup>

To the kyng our sovereyne lord:

Please it your hignes of your most noble and haboundaunt grace to graunt unto your welbeloved subiectys Richard Warde, Thomas Asshehurst and John Thomas, merchauntys of your towne of Bristowe, and to John fernandus, fraunces fernandus and John Gunsalus, Squyers, borne in the Isle of Surrys [*sic pro* Açores] under the obeisaunce of the kyng of Portingale, your gracious Letters patentis under your greate seale, in due forme to be made accordyng to the tenour hereafter ensuying<sup>2</sup>, and that this byll, signyd with your gracious hand, may be to the Reverend ffader in God, Henry, bysshop of Salesbury, keper of your gret seale, sufficient and immediate warrant for the making, sealyng, accomplysshynge of your seyde Letters patentis, and they shall duryng ther lyves pray to God for the prosperous contynuaunce of your most noble and ryall astate.

From the Public Record Office, Chancery Warrants for Privy Seals, Series II, No. 216 (22nd in packet): printed in [Biddle], *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, etc., appendix D, p. 306, whence it was reprinted by Jones in his Introduction to Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, p. LXXIII.

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph in the original is written underneath the words "To the kyng our sovereyne lord," but only because there was not room above.

<sup>2</sup> A copy was enclosed which corresponds with two exceptions to No. XX.

XX.

19 March, 1501.

LETTERS PATENT TO RICHARD WARDE, THOMAS ASHURST, AND  
JOHN THOMAS OF BRISTOL AND TO JOHN FERNANDEZ  
FRANCIS FERNANDEZ AND JOHN GONZALES OF  
THE AZORES.

PRO CONCESSIONE RICARDO WARDE ET ALIIS.

Rex universis et singulis ad quos presentes litere nostre pervenerint, Salutem: Notum sit vobis et manifestum, quod ex certis consideracionibus nos moventibus, de advisamento consilii nostri, concessimus et licenciam dedimus, prout per presentes concedimus et licenciam damus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, dilectis subditis nostris Ricardo Warde, Thome Asshurst et Johanni Thomas, mercatoribus ville nostre Bristollie, ac dilectis nobis Johanni ffernandus, ffrancisco ffernandus et Johanni Gunsalus, armigeris, in Insulis de Surrys, [*sic pro Açoribus*] sub obediencia Regis Portugalie oriundis, et eorum cuilibet, ac cuiuslibet eorum heredibus, attornatis, factoribus seu deputatis, ac eis et eorum cuilibet plenam ac liberam auctoritatem, facultatem et potestatem committimus navigandi et se transferendi ad omnes partes, regiones et fines maris Orientalis, Occidentalis, Australis, Borialis et Septemtrionalis, sub banneris et insigniis nostris, cum tot et tantis et talibus navibus sive batellis quot sibi placuerint et necessarie fuerint, cuiuscunque portagii quelibet navis sive batella existerit, cum magistris, contromagistris, marinariis, pagettis aliisque hominibus pro gubernacione, salva custodia et defensione navium et batellarum predictarum competentibus, requisitis et necessariis, ad custus et onera dictorum Ricardi et aliorum predictorum et pro huiusmodi salariis, vadiis et stipendiis, prout inter eos poterunt concordare, ad inveniendum, recuperandum, discooperiendum et investigandum insulas, patrias, regiones sive provincias quas-cunque gentilium et infidelium in quacunque mundi parte positas que Christianis omnibus ante hec tempora fuerunt et impresenciarum sunt incognite, ac huiusmodi banners et insignia nostra in quacunque villa, oppido, castro, insula seu terra firma a se sic noviter inventis affigendi, ipsaque villas, oppida, castra, insulas et terras firmas pro nobis et nomine nostro intrandi et capiendi, et ea tanquam vassalli nostri ac gubernatores, locatenentes et deputati nostri, eorundem dominio, titulo, dignitate et preeminencia eorundem nobis semper reserv-

atis, occupandi, possidendi et subiugandi. Et insuper quando-cumque imposterum huiusmodi insule, patrie, terre et provincie per prefatos Ricardum et alios prenominos adepti, recuperate et invente fuerint, tunc volumus et per presentes concedimus, quod omnes et singule tam viri quam femine huius regni nostri ceterique subditi nostri, terras et insulas huiusmodi sic noviter inventas visitare et in eisdem inhabitare cupientes et desiderantes, possint et valeant licite et impune ad ipsas patrias, insulas et loca, cum eorum navibus, hominibus et servantibus, rebus et bonis suis universis, transire, et in eisdem sub proteccionem et regimine dictorum Ricardi et aliorum prenominatorum morari et inhabitare, diviciasque, fructus et emolumenta terrarum, patriarum et locorum predictorum acquirere et optinere, dantes insuper et concedentes prefatis Ricardo, Thome et Johanni, Johanni, Francisco et Johanni, et eorum cuilibet, plenam tenore presencium, potestatem et auctoritatem omnes et singulos homines, marinarios ceterasque personas ad insulas, patrias, provincias, terras firmas et loca predicta, ex causa predicta, se divertentes et confluentes, tam in comitiva dictorum Ricardi et aliorum prenominatorum, quam in comitiva aliorum illuc imposterum recursum habere contingencium, tam supra mare quam in insuliis (*sic*), patriis, terris firmis et locis huiusmodi, postquam inventa et recuperata fuerint, regendi et gubernandi, legesque ordinationes, statuta et proclamaciones pro bono et quieto regimine et gubernacione dictorum hominum, magistrorum, marinariorum et aliarum personarum predictarum faciendi, stabiliendi, ordinandi et constituendi et superinde proclamaciones faciendi, ac omnes et singulos quos in hac parte contrarios et rebelles ac legibus, statutis et ordinationibus predictis inobedientes invenerint, ac omnes illos qui furtum, homicidia, rapinas commiserint et perpetraverint, aut aliquas mulieres insularum seu patriarum predictarum contra earum voluntatem aut aliter rapuerint et violaverint, juxta leges et statuta per ipsos in hac parte ordinata castigandi et puniendi. Ac eciam concessimus prefatis Ricardo, Thome, Johanni, Johanni, Francisco et Johanni, heredibus et assignatis suis, quod postquam aliquae insule, patrie, terre firme, regio seu provincia imposterum per ipsum Ricardum et alios prenominos invente fuerint, tunc non licebit alicui seu aliquibus subdito seu subditis [nostris]<sup>1</sup>, durante termino decem annorum proximo et immediate sequencium, ad ipsas villas, patrias, insulas, terras firmas

1 The words in brackets are omitted in the Patent Roll but are to be found in the Warrant copy.

et loca, causa mercandisandi ac bona acquirendi, absque licencia et permissione dictorum Ricardi et aliorum prenominatorum, heredum et assignatorum suorum, cum suis navibus frequentare aut se divertere, aut in eadem ingredi, seu in eisdem pro aliquibus bonis acquirendis intromittere; et post terminum dictorum decem annorum, quod nullus ex nostris subditis ad aliquam terram firmam, insulam, patriam seu locum per ipsos Ricardum et Thomam et alios predictos sic noviter inventa, navigare et frequentare presumat, absque licencia nostra et dictorum Ricardi et ceterorum predictorum, sub pena amissionis et forisfacture omnium bonorum, mercandisarum, rerum et navium quorumcumque ad ea loca sic noviter inventa navigare et in eadem ingredi presumencium, videlicet, una medietas inde erit ad opus nostrum et alia medietas ad opus dictorum Ricardi et aliorum prenominatorum et heredum suorum.

Et ulterius ex habundanti gratia nostra concessimus et per presentes concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, prefatis Ricardo, Thome, Johanni, Johanni, Francisco et Johanni, et eorum cuilibet, heredibus et assignatis suis, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet mercandisas et mercimonia, aurum et argentum in massa, lapides preciosos, et alia bona quaecumque de crescentia patriarum, insularum et locorum predictorum per ipsos sic recuperandorum et inveniendorum, tam in dictis navibus et batellis quam aliis quibuscumque navibus exteris a dictis patriis, insulis, terris firmis et locis in hoc regnum nostrum Anglie ad quemcumque portum seu alium locum eiusdem adducere et cariare, et adduci seu caruari facere possit et valeat, eaque vendere et distribuere ad eorum proficuum et avantagium, aliquo statuto, actu, ordinatione, restrictione seu mandato in contrarium facto non obstante.

Ac nos intime considerantes grandia custus et onera que circa premissa facienda et perimplenda requiruntur, volentes igitur prefatis Ricardo, Thome et aliis memoratis personis gratiam proinde facere specialem, concessimus et per presentes concedimus eisdem, heredibus et assignatis suis, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet, heredes et assignati sui predicti, de tempore in tempus, durante termino quatuor annorum a tempore recuperationis et invencionis insularum et patriarum predictarum, proximo et immediate sequencium, mercandisas et mercimonia ceteraque bona in una navi tantum cuiuscumque portagii fuerit eskippata et onusta, ac in hoc regnum nostrum Anglie adducenda et transportanda, in portu seu loco predicto ad terram ponere, eaque vendere, exponere, et pro libito suo distribuere possint, de



tempore in tempus, quolibet viagio, durante termino dictorum quatuor annorum, absque aliquibus custumis, subsidiis, seu aliis deveriis pro eisdem bonis, mercimoniis et ceteris premissis in dicta unica navi tantum contentis et eskippatis, nobis aut heredibus nostris infra dictum regnum nostrum Anglie aliqualiter solvendis. Proviso tamen quod nobis de custumis, subsidiis, pondagiis et aliis deveriis nobis pro ceteris mercandis, mercimoniis et bonis in omnibus aliis navibus contentis debitis, juxta consuetudinem in hoc regno nostro Anglie hactenus usitatam, fideliter respondeatur, ut est justum. Et insuper volumus et concedimus per presentes, quod quilibet capitalis magister, contromagister et marinarius cuiuslibet navis ad aliquam terram firmam, insulam, patriam, provinciam et locum predicta frequentantis et navigantis, habeant et gaudeant et percipiant de bonis et mercimoniis a dictis insulis, terris firmis et patriis in hoc regnum nostrum Anglie adducendis, custumas et subsidia sequencia, videlicet, quod quilibet magister habeat, gaudeat et percipiat subsidia et custumas, quolibet viagio, quatuor doliorum, et quilibet contromagister vel quartermaster custumas et subsidia duorum doliorum, ac quilibet marinarius custumas et subsidia unius dolii, licet sint carcata et eskipcata ut bona sua propria aut ut bona alicuius alterius persone cuiuscumque; Et hoc absque aliquibus custumis, subsidiis, debitis seu deveriis infra hoc regnum nostrum Anglie ad opus nostrum aut heredum nostrorum pro eisdem doliis aliqualiter solvendis seu petendis.

Et si contigat aliquem vel aliquos mercatorem seu mercatores huius regni nostri ad dictas insulas, patrias et loca sub licencia dictorum subditorum nostrorum, aut absque licencia sua, causa habendi mercandisas et mercimonia, adventare et laborare, ac bona et mercimonia ab eisdem partibus in hoc regnum nostrum adducere, tunc volumus et concedimus per presentes prefatis Ricardo, Thome, Johanni, Johanni, Francisco et Johanni, heredibus et assignatis suis, quod ipsi, durante termino decem annorum antedicto, habeant de quolibet huiusmodi mercatore, solutis nobis custumis, subsidiis et aliis deveriis nobis in hac parte debitis et consuetis, vicesimam partem omnium huiusmodi bonorum et mercimoniorum per ipsos a dictis insulis, patriis et locis quolibet viagio, durante dicto termino decem annorum, in hoc regnum nostrum Anglie traducendorum et cariorum, habendam et capiendam huiusmodi vicesimam partem in portu ubi contigerit dicta bona discarcari et exonerari. Proviso semper quod predicti Ricardus et alii predicti,

heredes et assignati sui et non alii omnino imposterum, durante dicto termino decem annorum, sint factores et attornati in dictis insulis, terris firmis et patriis pro quibuscumque huiusmodi mercatoribus aliisque personis illuc ex causa predicta confluentibus, in et pro eorum factis mercatoriis in eisdem. Proviso etiam quod nulla navis cum bonis et mercandis a dictis partibus sic noviter inventis carcata et onusta, postquam in aliquem portum huius regni nostri adducta fuerit, non exoneretur de eisdem bonis et mercandis nisi in presencia prefatorum Ricardi et aliorum predictorum, eorumve heredum seu deputatorum ad hoc assignandorum, sub pena forisfacture eorundem bonorum et mercandis, unde una medietas ad opus nostrum et alia medietas prefatis Ricardo et aliis prenomminatis et heredibus suis applicantur. Et si imposterum aliqui extranei aut alie persone ad ipsas partes contra voluntatem ipsorum Ricardi et aliorum prenominatorum, causa habendi divicias navigare, et eas vi et armis ingredi, ac dictos Ricardum et alios predictos aut heredes suos ibidem insultare, ac eos expellere et debellare aut alias inquietare presumpserint, quod tunc volumus, ac eisdem subditis nostris, tenore presencium, potestatem damus et committimus, ipsos extraneos, licet sint subditi et vassalli alicuius Principis nobiscum in liga et amicitia existentis, totis suis viribus, tam per terram quam per mare et aquas dulces, expugnandi, resistendi, et guerram contra eos levandi et faciendi, eosque capiendi, subpeditandi et incarcerandi ibidem, quousque fines et redemptiones eisdem subditis nostris fecerint moraturos, aut alias secundum sanam discrecionem ipsorum subditorum nostrorum et heredum suorum castigandi et puniendi.

At etiam prefatis subditis nostris ceterisque personis predictis plenam, tenore presencium, potestatem damus et committimus sub se quoscumque capitaneos, locatenentes et deputatos in singulis civitatibus, villis, oppidis et locis dictarum insularum, provinciarum, patriarum et locorum predictorum, ad regendum et gubernandum omnes et singulas personas in eisdem partibus, sub regimine et gubernacione dictorum subditorum nostrorum ibidem commorantium, ac ad justiciam eisdem, secundum tenorem et effectum ordinacionum, statutorum et proclamationum predictorum, debite exequendam et administrandam, per literas suas patentes, sigillis eorum sigillandas, faciendi, constituendi, nominandi et substituendi. Et insuper concessimus et per presentes concedimus prefatis Ricardo, Thome, Johanni, Johanni, Francisco et Johanni, ad terminum vite sue et cuiuslibet eorum diucius viventis, officium Admiralli supra mare in

quibuscumque locis, patriis et provinciis a se sic noviter inventis et imposterum inveniendis et recuperandis, ipsosque Ricardum, Thomam, Johannem, Johannem, franciscum et Johannem et eorum quemlibet coniunctim et divisim Admirалlos nostros in eisdem partibus facimus, constituimus, ordinamus et deputamus per presentes, dantes et concedentes eisdem et eorum cuilibet plenam, tenore presencium, potestatem et auctoritatem, ea omnia et singula que ad officium admirallitatis pertinent, faciendi, exercendi et exequendi, secundum legem et consuetudinem maritimam in hoc regno nostro Anglie usitatam.

Ac etiam postquam prefati Ricardus Warde, Thomas Ashurst et Johannes Thomas ac Johannes fernandus, franciscus fernandus et Johannes Gunsalus aliquas terras firmas, insulas, patrias et provincias, oppida, castra, civitates et villas per assistenciam nostram sic invenerint, optinuerint et subiugaverint, tunc volumus et per presentes concedimus eisdem, heredibus et assignatis suis, quod ipsi et heredes sui habeant, teneant et possideant sibi, heredibus et assignatis suis, omnia et singula, talia et tanta terras firmas, insulas, patrias, provincias, castra, oppida, fortallicia, civitates et villas, qualia et quanta ipsi ac homines, tenentes et servientes sui possunt inhabitare, custodire, sustinere et manutenere, habendas et tenendas easdem terras, insulas et loca predicta sibi, heredibus et assignatis suis et cuiuslibet eorum, de nobis et heredibus nostris imperpetuum, per fidelitatem tantum, absque aliquo compoto seu aliquo alio nobis aut heredibus nostris proinde reddendo seu faciendo, dignitate, dominio, regalitate, iurisdiccione et preeminencia in eisdem nobis semper salvis et omnino reservatis. Et ulterius concessimus prefatis Ricardo, Thome, Johanni, Johanni, francisco, Johanni, quod ipsi, heredes et assignati sui dictas terras firmas, insulas et patrias, ipsis et heredibus suis predictis, ut premittitur, sic concessis, postquam invente et recuperate sint, ac cum in plena possessione earundem fuerint, teneant, possideant et gaudeant libere, quiete et pacifice, absque impedimento aliquali nostri aut heredum nostrorum quorumcumque. Et quod nullus ex subditis nostris eos aut eorum aliquem de et super possessione et titulo suis de et in dictis terris firmis, insulis et patriis se aliqualiter contra voluntatem suam expellat quovis modo. Promittentes bona fide et in verbo regio nos ratum, gratum et firmum habituros totum et quicquid prefati Ricardus, Thomas, Johannes, Johannes, franciscus et Johannes et eorum quilibet pro premissorum complemento fecerint, fierique procuraverint in hac parte. Et quod nos aut heredes nostri nullo unquam

tempore in futurum ipsos aut eorum aliquem heredesve et assignatos suos in jure, titulo et possessione suis inquietabimus, impediemus, aut molestiam eis faciemus, nec per alios nostros subditos aut alios quoscumque, quantum in nobis fuerit, fieri seu procurari permittemus seu procurabimus, nec ipsos, heredes et assignatos suos pro aliqua causa imposterum emergente seu contingente ab eisdem terris firmis, patriis, provinciis et locis nullo modo ammovebimus aut amoveri seu expelli per subditos nostros procurabimus.

Et ulterius, ex uberiori gratia nostra speciali et mero motu nostro, concessimus et per presentes concedimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, Johanni fernandus, francisco fernandus et Johanni Gunsalus, armigeris, in insulis de Surris [*sic pro Açoribus*], subditos Regis Portugalie oriundis, et eorum cuilibet, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet ac omnes liberi sui tam procreati quam procreandi imperpetuum sint indigeni et ligei nostri, et heredum nostrorum, et in omnibus causis, querelis, rebus et materiis quibuscumque habeantur, pertractentur, teneantur, reputentur et gubernentur tanquam veri et fideles ligei nostri infra regnum nostrum Anglie oriundi et non aliter nec alio modo. Et quod ipsi et omnes liberi sui predicti omnimodo actiones reales, personales et mixtas in omnibus curiis, locis et jurisdictionibus nostris quibuscumque habere, exercere, eisque uti et gaudere, ac eas in eisdem placitare et implacitari, respondere et responderi, defendere et defendi possint, et eorum quilibet possit, in omnibus et per omnia sicuti veri et fideles ligei nostri infra regnum nostrum predictum oriundi. Et quod ipsi et eorum quilibet terras, teneamenta, redditus, reversiones, servicia et alias possessiones quocumque tam in dominio quam in reversione infra dictum regnum nostrum Anglie ac alia dominia et loca sub obediencia nostra perquirere, capere, recipere, habere, tenere, possidere et hereditare sibi, heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum vel alio modo quocumque, ac ea dare, vendere, alienare et legare cuicumque persone sive quibuscumque personis sibi placuerit libere, quiete, licite et impune possint, et quilibet eorum possit, ad libitum suum adeo libere, integre et pacifice sicut possit et valeat aliquis ligeorum nostrorum infra regnum nostrum Anglie oriundus. Ita tamen quod predicti Johannes fernandus, franciscus et Johannes Gunsalus et omnes liberi sui predicti solvant aut solvi faciant et eorum quilibet solvat seu solvi faciat talia custumas, subsidia et alia deveria pro bonis, mercibus, mercandis et mercimoniis suis in regnum nostrum Anglie



adducendis vel extra idem regnum educendis, qualia alienigeni nobis solvant aut solvere deberent vel consueverunt. Et quod iidem Johannes ffernandus, ffranciscus et Johannes Gunsalus et omnes liberi sui predicti de cetero in futurum, colore seu vigore alicuius statuti, ordinacionis sive concessionis in parlamento nostro aut extra parlamentum nostrum facti vel fiendi, non artentur, teneantur seu compellantur, nec eorum aliquis artetur, teneatur seu compellatur ad solvendum, dandum, faciendum vel supportandum nobis vel alicui heredum nostrorum seu cuicumque alteri aliqua taxas, tallagia seu alia onera quecumque pro terris, tenementis, bonis vel personis suis preterquam talia et tanta, qualia et quanta alii fideles ligei nostri infra dictum regnum nostrum oriundi pro bonis, terris, tenementis seu personis suis solvunt, dant, faciunt vel supportant aut solvere, dare, facere vel supportare concomiter consueverunt et teneantur, sed quod predicti Johannes ffernandus, ffranciscus et Johannes Gunsalus et omnes liberi sui predicti habere et possidere valeant et possint, et eorum quilibet valeat et possit, omnia et omnimodo alia libertates, privilegia, ffranchlesias et custumas, ac eis uti et gaudere possint, et eorum quilibet possit, infra dictum regnum nostrum Anglie, iurisdicciones et dominia nostra quecumque adeo libere, quiete, integre et pacifice sicut ceteri ligei nostri infra idem regnum nostrum oriundi concomiter habent, utuntur et gaudent, aut habere, possidere, uti et gaudere debeant et valeant, aliquo statuto, actu, ordinacione vel aliqua alia causa, re vel materia quacumque non obstante. Proviso semper quod prefati Johannes ffernandus, ffranciscus et Johannes Gunsalus homagium ligenum nobis faciant et eorum quilibet faciat ac lotto et scotto et aliis oneribus in regno nostro predicto ubilibet debitis et consuetis contribuant et eorum quilibet contribuat, prout alii ligei nostri infra dictum regnum nostrum oriundi faciunt. Proviso eciam quod iidem Johannes ffernandus, ffranciscus et Johannes Gunsalus solvant et eorum quilibet solvat nobis et heredibus nostris tot et tanta custumas, subsidia et alia deveria pro bonis et mercandis suis prout alienigeni nobis solvere et reddere teneantur.

Et ulterius, ex uberiori gratia nostra, concessimus prefatis Ricardo, Thome, Johanni, Johanni, ffrancisco et Johanni, quod ipsi habeant presentes literas nostras in Cancellaria nostra absque aliquo fine seu feodo, aut aliquibus finibus seu feodis pro eisdem literis nostris aut aliqua parte earundem aut pro magno sigillo nostro, ad opus nostrum in hanaperio dicte Cancellarie nostre aliququaliter solvendis. Et volumus et concedimus per pre-

sentes quod Reverendissimus in Christo pater Henricus, Episcopus Sarum, Custos magni sigilli nostri, auctoritate presentis concessionis nostre, fieri faciat et sigillari tot et talia breviam, sub magno sigillo nostro sigillanda, custodi sive clerico hanaperii nostri dirigenda, pro exoneracione dictorum finium et feodorum, quot et qualia in hac parte necessaria fuerint et requisita, absque aliquo alio warranto aut prosecutione penes [nos] in hac parte faciendis.

In cuius rei, etc.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xix die marcii.

Per ipsum Regem, et de data predicta, etc.

Et mandatum est Custumariis sive Collectoribus customarum et subsidiorum Regis in portu ville sue Bristollie qui nunc sunt et qui pro tempore erunt, quod ipsi prefatos Ricardum, Thomam, Johannem, Johannem, franciscum et Johannem, et eorum quemlibet, heredes et assignatos suos, bona, mercandisas, mercimonia quecumque in dicta unica navi contenta, onusta et eskipata, cuiuscumque portagii fuerit, a dictis insulis, patriis et locis per ipsos, ut predictur, inveniendis et recuperandis, in dictum portum Bristollie traducenda et transportanda, de tempore in tempus, quolibet viagio, durante termino dictorum quatuor annorum a tempore recuperacionis et invencionis insularum, patriarum et locorum predictorum, absque aliquibus customis, subsidiis seu aliis deveriis dicto domino Regi seu heredibus suis pro eisdem bonis, mercandis et mercimoniis solvendis in portu predicto, ad terram ponere, eaque vendere, exponere et pro libito suo distribuere permittant, juxta tenorem literarum predictorum, ipsosque contra tenorem earundem non molestantes seu gravantes.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xix die marcii.

Et mandatum est prefatis Custumariis sive Collectoribus in portu predicto qui nunc sunt et qui pro tempore erunt, quod ipsi prefatos magistros, contromagistros, vel quartermasters et marinarios cuiuslibet navis ad aliquam terram firmam, insulam, patriam et locum predicta navigantis et frequentantis, et eorum quemlibet customas et subsidia doliolum predictorum, modo et forma supraspecificatis, absque aliquibus customis, subsidiis et aliis deveriis dicto domino Regi pro eisdem doliis, seu eorum aliquo, aliquo modo solvendis, in et pro quolibet viagio, de tempore in tempus habere, gaudere et percipere permittant, juxta ten-

orem literarum predictarum, ipsosque aut eorum aliquem contra tenorem earundem non molestantes in aliquo seu gravantes.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xix die marcii.

From the Public Record Office, Patent Roll No. 587, membranes 20 and 21; unpublished. The copy preserved under Chancery Warrants for Privy Seals, ser. II, No. 216 (22nd in packet), will be found printed in [Biddle], *A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, appendix D, 306-14, whence it was copied by Jones in his Introduction to Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, LXXIII-LXXXV; and reprinted from the same source in the *Archivo dos Açores*, IV°, 450-63, Ponta Delgada, 1884.

### XXA<sup>1</sup>.

In regard to the grant to Richard Warde and others.

The King to all and singular to whom our present letters patent shall come, Greeting: Be it known to you and made manifest that we, for certain considerations us moving, by the advice of our Council, have granted and given licence, as by these presents we grant and give licence for us and our heirs, as far as in us lies, to our well-beloved subjects Richard Warde, Thomas Ashehurst and John Thomas, merchants of our town of Bristol, and to our well-beloved John Fernandez, Francis Fernandez and John Gonzales, Esquires, of the Islands of the Azores in the dominions of the King of Portugal, and to any one of them, and to the heirs, attorneys, factors or deputies of any one of them, and to them and any one of them we grant full and unrestricted authority, faculty and power to sail and transport themselves to all parts, regions and territories of the eastern, western, southern, arctic and northern seas, under our banners and ensigns, with so many and so large and such ships or vessels as may be agreeable to them and may be necessary, of whatsoever burthen any ship or vessel may be, with masters, mates, mariners, pages and other men competent,

<sup>1</sup> In the letters patent issued to Alonso de Hojeda on 8 June, 1501, giving him authority to revisit the coast of Paria and "to discover islands and mainland of any sort whatsoever in the Ocean," the following sentences occur: "Item: Que vaes é sigais aquella costa que descubristes, que se corre leste-ueste, segun parece, por razon que va hácia la parte donde se ha sabido que descubrian los ingleses, é vais poniendo las marcas con las armas de SS. AA., ó con otras señales que sean conocidas, cuales vos pareciere, porque se conozca como vos habes descubierto aquella tierra, para que atages el descubrir de los ingleses por aquella via" etc. Navarrete op. cit. III. 86. Vid. Juan de la Cosa's map.

requisite and necessary for the piloting, safeguard and defense of the aforesaid ships and vessels, at the cost and charges of the said Richard and of the others aforesaid. and at such salaries, wages and pay as they may agree upon among themselves, to find, recover, discover and search out whatsoever islands, countries, regions or provinces of heathens and infidels, in whatever part of the world they may lie, which before this time were and at present are unknown to all Christians, and to set up our banners and ensigns in any town, city, castle, island or mainland by them thus newly found, and to enter and seize these same towns, cities, castles, islands and mainlands for us and in our name, and as our vassals and governors, lieutenants and deputies to occupy, possess and subdue these, the property, title, dignity and suzerainty of the same being always reserved to us. And furthermore whenever henceforth such islands, countries, lands and provinces shall be acquired, recovered and found by the aforesaid Richard and the others before-named, then we will and by these presents grant, that all and singular as well men as women of this our kingdom and the rest of our subjects, wishing and desiring to visit these lands and islands thus newly found, and to inhabit the same, shall be allowed and have power to go freely and in safety to the same countries, islands and places with their ships, men and servants, and all their goods and chattels, and to dwell in and inhabit the same under the protection and government of the said Richard and of the others aforesaid, and to acquire and keep the riches, fruits and profits of the lands, countries and places aforesaid; giving furthermore and granting to the aforesaid Richard, Thomas and John, John, Francis and John, and to any one of them, by the tenour of these presents, full power and authority to rule and govern all and singular the men, sailors and other persons removing and making their way for the aforesaid purpose to the islands, countries, provinces, mainlands and places before-mentioned, as well in the company of the said Richard and of the others aforesaid, as in the company of people happening afterwards to betake themselves there, both on the sea as well as in these islands, countries, mainlands and places after they have been found and recovered, and to make, set up, ordain and appoint laws, ordinances, statutes and proclamations for the good and peaceful rule and government of the said men, masters, sailors and other persons aforesaid, and also to issue proclamations to chastise



and punish according to the laws and statutes set up by them in that region all and singular those whom they may find there hostile and rebellious and disobedient to the laws, statutes and ordinances aforesaid, and all who shall commit and perpetrate theft, homicide or robberies or who shall rape and violate against their will or otherwise any women of the islands or countries aforesaid. And furthermore we have granted to the aforesaid Richard, Thomas, John, John, Francis and John. their heirs and assigns, that when any islands, countries, mainlands, region or province shall henceforth be discovered by the same Richard and the others aforesaid, then it shall not be lawful for any subject or subjects [of ours], during the term of ten years next and immediately following, to visit with their ships or to make their way to the same towns, countries, islands, mainlands and places, for the purpose of trading and obtaining goods, without the licence and permission of the said Richard and of the others aforesaid, their heirs and assigns, or to enter the same, or to send into the same to obtain any goods; and that after the term of the said ten years, none of our subjects shall presume to sail to or visit any mainland, island, country or place thus newly found by the said Richard and Thomas and the others aforesaid without our licence and that of the said Richard and of the others aforesaid, on pain of the loss and forfeiture of all the goods, merchandise, commodities and vessels whatsoever daring to sail to these places thus newly discovered and to enter the same, namely, one-half of the same to be for our use, and the other half for the use of the said Richard and of the others aforesaid and of their heirs.

And furthermore of our abundant grace we have granted and by these presents grant for us and our heirs, as far as in us lies, to the aforesaid Richard, Thomas, John, John, Francis and John and any one of them, their heirs and assigns, that they and any one of them shall have power and permission to bring and transport and cause to be brought or transported merchandise and wares, gold and silver in bar, precious stones, and other goods whatsoever grown in the countries, islands and places aforesaid by them thus to be recovered and found, as well in the said ships and vessels as in other strange ships whatsoever, from the said countries, islands, mainlands and places into this our realm of England, to any port whatsoever or other place in the same, and to sell and distribute these for their own profit and advantage, any statute, act, ordinance, restriction or order made to the contrary notwithstanding.

And we, bearing in mind most especially the heavy costs and charges which are required for the performance and execution of the above, wishing therefore to do special favour in like manner to the aforesaid Richard, Thomas and the other persons mentioned, have granted and by these presents grant to the same, their heirs and assigns, that they and any one of them, their heirs and assigns aforesaid, may from time to time during the term of four years from the date of the recovery and discovery of the islands and countries aforesaid next and immediately following, land in the port or place aforesaid the merchandise and wares and other goods, loaded and carried on one vessel, of so great tonnage whatsoever she be, and which are to be brought and transported into this our realm of England, and may sell, expose and distribute these at their pleasure from time to time after any voyage during the term of the said four years, without in any way paying to us or to our heirs within our said realm of England, any customs, subsidies or other dues on the same goods, merchandise and other things aforesaid contained and carried in the said one vessel only. Provided nevertheless that with regard to the customs, subsidies, pondages and other dues to be paid on the rest of the merchandise, wares and goods on board all the other vessels, true answers, as is right, be given to us, according to the practice hitherto prevailing in this our realm of England. And furthermore we will and grant by these presents that any chief master, mate and sailor of any ship whatsoever visiting and sailing to any mainland, island, country, province and place aforesaid, may have, enjoy and receive of the goods and wares to be brought from the said islands, mainlands and countries into this our realm of England, the following customs and subsidies, namely: that any master may have, enjoy and receive on any voyage the customs and subsidies of four tons, and any mate or quartermaster the customs and subsidies of two tons, and any sailor the customs and subsidies of one ton, even though they be loaded and carried as his own goods or as the goods of any other person whatsoever; and this without any customs, subsidies, dues or duties being in any way paid or asked for the same tonnage within this our realm of England for our needs or those of our heirs.

And should it happen that any merchant or merchants of this our realm arrive at the said islands, countries and places by licence of our said subjects or without their licence, for the purpose of obtaining merchandise and wares, and should carry on business and bring goods and wares from those parts into

this our kingdom, then we will and grant by these presents to the aforesaid Richard, Thomas, John, John, Francis and John, their heirs and assigns, that they, during the aforesaid term of ten years, may receive from any such merchant, the customs, subsidies and other dues having been paid that it is customary to remit to us in such case, the twentieth part of all such goods and merchandise brought and transported by the same from the said islands, countries and places into this our realm of England on any voyage during the said term of ten years, this twentieth part to be had and taken in the port in which it shall happen that the said goods are unloaded and discharged. Provided always that during the said term of ten years the aforesaid Richard and the others aforesaid, their heirs and assigns, and not any other persons, be the factors and attorneys in the said islands, mainlands and countries in behalf of any such merchants and other persons repairing there for the aforesaid cause in and for the trade carried on there for them. Provided also that no vessel charged and loaded with goods and merchandise from the said regions thus newly found, after she has been brought into any port of this our realm, be discharged of the said goods and merchandise except in the presence of the aforesaid Richard and of the others aforesaid, or of their heirs or deputies to be assigned for this purpose, on pain of the forfeiture of the said goods and merchandise, whereof one half shall be applied to our needs and the other half be given to the aforesaid Richard and to the others before-named and to their heirs. And if afterwards any strangers or other persons should presume against the wish of the said Richard and of the others before-named to sail to these said regions for the purpose of enriching themselves, and to enter the same by violence, and there to insult the said Richard and the others aforesaid or their heirs, and to conquer and expel them, or otherwise to disturb them, then we will and by the tenour of these presents give and grant power to the same subjects of ours, to expel and resist with all their force, as well by land as by sea and fresh water, these strangers, even though they be subjects and vassals of some prince in league and friendship with us, and to wage and carry on war against them, and to arrest, bind and place them in prison, there to remain until they shall have made fine and redemption to our said subjects; or otherwise to chastise and punish them according to the sober discretion of our said subjects and of their heirs.

And also by the tenour of these presents we give and grant



full power to our aforesaid subjects, and to the other persons aforesaid, to make, constitute, nominate and appoint under them by their letters patent to be sealed with their seals, any captains, lieutenants and deputies whatsoever in each of the states, cities, towns and places aforesaid for the administration and government of all and singular the persons in those parts, under the rule and authority of our said subjects there dwelling, and for the due execution and administration of justice in the same, according to the tenour and import of the ordinances, statutes and proclamations aforesaid. And furthermore we have granted and by these presents grant to the aforesaid Richard, Thomas, John, John, Francis and John for the term of their lives and of the life of any one of them, the office of Admiral at sea in any of the places, countries and provinces whatsoever by them thus newly discovered and henceforth to be found and recovered; and we make, constitute, ordain and appoint by these presents the said Richard, Thomas, John, John, Francis and John and any one of them whomsoever, conjointly and separately, our Admirals in the same parts, giving and granting to them and to any one of them whomsoever, by the tenour of these presents, full power and authority to do, exercise and carry out all and singular the things which pertain to the office of Admiral, according to the law and the naval custom obtaining in this our realm of England.

And further after the aforesaid Richard Warde, Thomas Ashehurst and John Thomas and John Fernandez, Francis Fernandez and John Gonzales shall have thus found, acquired and subdued with our assistance, any mainlands, islands, countries and provinces, cities, castles, states and towns, then we will and by these presents grant to them, their heirs and assigns, that they and their heirs may have, hold and possess for themselves, their heirs and assigns all and singular, such and so great mainlands, islands, countries, provinces, castles, cities, fortresses, states, and towns as and as great as they and their agents, lieutenants and servants are able to inhabit, take possession of, hold and maintain; the same lands, islands and places aforesaid to be had and held by them, their heirs and assigns, and by any one of them whomsoever, of us and of our heirs in perpetuity by fidelity alone, without any composition or anything else being rendered or made to us or to our heirs for the same, always excepting the dignity, dominion, regality, jurisdiction and suzerainty of the same, wholly reserved to us. And furthermore we have granted to the aforesaid Richard,



Thomas, John, John, Francis and John, that when the said mainlands, islands and countries thus made over to them and to their heirs aforesaid, as set forth above, have been discovered and recovered, and when they are in full possession of the same, they, their heirs and assigns may hold, possess and enjoy the same freely, quietly and peaceably, without impediment of any sort from us or from any of our heirs whomsoever. And that none of our subjects shall in any way expel them or any one of them from and out of their possession and title to and in the said mainlands, islands and countries in any wise against their will. Promising in good faith and on the word of a king that we shall hold ratified, acceptable and stable all and whatsoever the aforesaid Richard, Thomas, John, John, Francis and John, and any of them whosoever, by way of completing the premises, shall do or shall procure to be done herein. And that neither we nor our heirs ever nor at any time in the future shall disturb, hinder or molest them or any one of them or their heirs and assigns in their right, title and possession, nor shall we permit nor cause this to be done or brought about, nor shall we cause it to be done by others our subjects, or others whomsoever, so far as in us lies; nor shall we in any way remove them, their heirs and assigns from the said mainlands, countries, provinces and places for any cause afterwards arising or happening, nor shall we cause them to be removed or expelled by our subjects.

And further of our greater special goodness and very own motion we have granted and by these presents grant for us and our heirs, as far as in us lies, to John Fernandez, Francis Fernandez and John Gonzales, Esquires, of the Islands of the Azores, born subjects of the king of Portugal, and to any one of them whomsoever, that they and any one of them and all their children, as well born as to be born, are for ever subjects and lieges of us and of our heirs, and in all lawsuits, quarrels, affairs and matters whatsoever are to be considered, treated, held, esteemed and governed as our true and faithful lieges born within our realm of England, and not otherwise nor in any other way. And that they and all their children aforesaid, and any one of them whomsoever, may carry on and bring real, personal and mixed actions in all courts, places and jurisdictions of ours whatsoever in all ways, and may use and benefit by these, and may sue and be sued in the same, answer and be answered to, defend them and be defended in all things and everywhere as our true and faithful lieges born within our realm aforesaid. And

that they, and any one of them whosoever, may examine, take, receive, own, hold, possess and inherit for himself, his heirs and assigns, in perpetuity or in any other way whatsoever, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services and other possessions whatsoever, as well in full ownership as in reversion, within our said realm of England and the other dominions and places under our obedience, and these give away, sell, alienate and bequeath to any person or persons whomsoever, as it may please them, freely, quietly, lawfully and safely, and any one of them may so do at his pleasure, as freely, fully and peaceably as any liege of ours born within our realm of England is able and has power to do. In such a way nevertheless that the aforesaid John and Francis Fernandez and John Gonzales, and all their children aforesaid, pay or cause to be paid, and each of them pays or causes to be paid, such customs, taxes and other dues for their goods, wares, merchandise and commodities which are to be brought into our realm of England or taken out of the same, as foreigners pay to us, or ought, or are accustomed to pay. And that the same John and Francis Fernandez and John Gonzales, and all their children aforesaid, from henceforward under colour or in virtue of any statute, ordinance or grant made or to be made in our parliament or out of our parliament, be not forced, held nor compelled nor any one of them be forced, held or compelled to pay, give, render or bring to us or to any of our heirs, or to any one else whomsoever, any taxes, tallages or other dues whatsoever for their lands, tenements, goods or persons, except such and so much as our other faithful lieges, born within our said realm pay, give, render or bring, or are accustomed and held to pay, give, render or bring generally for their goods, lands, tenements or persons; but that the aforesaid John and Francis Fernandez and John Gonzales, and all their children aforesaid, and any one of them, may and can have and possess all things and all other liberties, privileges, franchises and customs, and may use and enjoy them, and any one of them may so do, within our said realm of England, our jurisdictions and dominions whatsoever, as freely, quietly, fully and peaceably as the rest of our lieges, born within our said realm generally hold, use and enjoy them, or ought and should hold, possess, use and enjoy them; any statute, act, ordinance, or any other cause, affair or matter whatsoever notwithstanding. Provided always that the aforesaid John and Francis Fernandez and John Gonzales, and each of them does liege homage to us, and that they and each one of them aids with lot and scot and

with the other dues payable and customary everywhere in our aforesaid realm, as our lieges do who are born within our said kingdom. Provided also that the said John and Francis Fernandez and John Gonzales pay, and each of them pays to us and to our heirs so many and such customs, subsidies and other dues for their goods and merchandise as foreigners are held to pay and give to us.

And further of our greater goodness we have granted to the aforesaid Richard, Thomas, John, John, Francis and John, that they may have our present letters in our Chancery without payment to us of any fine or fee or of any fines or fees for the same letters of ours, or for any part thereof, or for our Great Seal in any way at the Exchequer of our said Chancery. And we will and grant by these presents that the most Reverend father in God, Henry, bishop of Salisbury, the Custodian of our Great Seal, by the authority of this present grant of ours, shall cause to be prepared and sealed so many and such briefs sealed with our Great Seal and directed to the custodian or clerk of our Exchequer for the discharge of the said fines and fees, as and such as may be necessary and requisite for the same without any other warrant or attendance being made before us in this matter.

In witness whereof, etc.

Witness ourself at Westminster on the nineteenth day of March.

By the king himself, and at the date aforesaid, etc.

And the customs' officers, or the collectors of the king's customs and subsidies at the port of his town of Bristol, both present and future, are ordered, according to the tenour of the aforesaid letters, to allow the aforesaid Richard, Thomas, John, John, Francis and John, and any one of them whomsoever, their heirs and assigns to land at the aforesaid harbour whatsoever goods, merchandise and wares contained, loaded and carried in the said one vessel, of whatsoever burthen she be, which are brought and transported from the said islands, countries and places to be found and recovered by the same as aforesaid, to the said port of Bristol, from time to time on any voyage during the term of the said four years from the date of the recovery and discovery of the islands, countries and places aforesaid, without payment of any customs, subsidies or other dues to the said lord the king or to his heirs for the said goods, merchandise

and wares, and to set out, sell and distribute these at their will, and not to molest nor oppress the said persons contrary to the tenour of the said letters.

Witness the king at Westminster on the nineteenth day of March.

And the aforesaid customs' officers, or the collectors in the aforesaid port, both present and future, are ordered according to the tenour of the aforesaid letters, to allow the aforesaid masters, mates or quartermasters and sailors of any ship whatsoever, sailing and making its way to any mainland, country or place aforesaid, and any one of them whomsoever, to have, enjoy and receive from time to time the customs and subsidies of the aforesaid tonnage in the form and manner stated above, without the payment by them or by any of them whomsoever in any way of any customs, subsidies and other dues to the said lord the king for the said tonnage in and on any voyage whatsoever, and they are not to molest nor oppress them or any one of them in any way contrary to the tenour of these said presents.

Witness the king at Westminster on the nineteenth day of March.

## XXI.

15-21 April, 1501.

### PROVISIONS FOR GASPAR CORTE REAL'S SECOND EXPEDITION.

Nos, el Rey, mandamos a vos nosso almoxarife dos fornos do bizcoito da porta da + [i.e. Cruz] e ao escripvam desseio officio, que dees a Gaspar Corterreal, fidalgo de nossa casa, tamto bizcoyto quamto fizerem dez moyos de triguo do campo, os quaaes dez moyos de triguo vos, o dito Gaspar Corterreal, entregara nos ditos fforneos; E esto peramte o dito vosso escripvam pera vos carregar os ditos dez moyos de triguo em recepta e em despesa o dito bizcoito que lhe assy por elles entregardes, como dito he, por que do ffeitoio lhe fazemos merce, e vos cobray delle sseu conhecimento, e este pera vossa comta e comprio assy. ffeito em Lixboa a xb dias dabrill. Gaspar Rodriguez o fez de mil e b<sup>c</sup> e hũu.

REY + J.

De CASTEL BRANCO.



He verdade que receby do almoxarife Jacome Diaz setenta e dous quintaes e meio por dez moyos de trigo do canpo que de mym regebeo feito a xxj dias dabrill de 1501.

### GASPAR CORTE REALL.

[Endorsed]. Ao almoxarife dos fornos da porta da + [i.e. Cruz] que dee a Gaspar Corterreal tanto bizcoyto quanto fezerem x moyos de trigo do campo, os quaaes lhe elle entregara, e do feitio lhe faz vossa senhoria merçee.

From the Archivo nacional da Torre do Tombo, Corpo chronologico, part 1<sup>a</sup>, maç. 3, no. 52: printed in HARRISSE, op. cit., postscriptum 6-7, with a facsimile of Gaspar Corte Real's receipt; *Archivo dos Açores*, IV, 585-6; and in *Alguns Documentos*, etc., 125-6 with a facsimile of the whole document.

### XXIA.

We, the king, order you our superintendent of the biscuit-ovens at the gate of the Cross<sup>1</sup>, and the clerk of that office, to deliver to Gaspar Corte Real, a nobleman of our court, as many biscuits as ten *moios*<sup>2</sup> of country wheat will produce, which ten *moios* of wheat the said Gaspar Corte Real will hand over to you at our said ovens; and this in the presence of your said clerk, in order to credit you with the said ten *moios* of wheat and to debit you with the said biscuit which you will thus deliver to him in exchange for them, as already stated, since we grant him the expense thereof; and you will obtain from him his bill of lading, and this for your account and receipt. Given in Lisbon on 15 April. Gaspar Rodriguez made this in 1501.

THE KING,

De CASTEL BRANCO.

It is true that I have received from the superintendent James Diaz 72½ quintals in exchange for ten *moios* of country wheat which he received from me. Given on 21 April, 1501.

GASPAR CORTE REAL.

Endorsed: To the Superintendent of the Ovens at the Gate of the Cross to deliver to Gaspar Corte Real as many biscuits as x *moios* of country wheat, which he is to hand over to him, will produce, and his majesty grants him the expense.

<sup>1</sup> One of the old city gates of Lisbon.

<sup>2</sup> A *moio* is 780 litres.

XXII.

17 October 1501.

DISPATCH OF ALBERT. CANTINO FROM LISBON TO THE DUKE OF  
FERRARA, HERCULES D'ESTE.

Illustrissime et Excellentissime Princeps et Domine mi  
Singularissime, etc:

Gia son nove mesi passati che questo Serenissimo Re mando  
alle parte de Tramontana dui legni ben armati *solum* per cer-  
chare se possibil fusse che a quella parte vi si possesse ritrovare  
terre on insule alcune. Cusi hora alli undee del presente salvo  
et con preda, uno de epsi 'è ritornato; et ha portato gente et  
nove, lequale non me ha parso che sencia sentita de Vostra Ex-  
cellentia debbiano passare, et cusi precisamente tutto quello  
qual fu per il capitan al Re, me presente, raccontato, qui di sotto  
distinctamente scrivo. In prima raccontano che partiti che  
furon del porto di Lisbona, quatro mesi continui sempre per  
quello vento et a quel polo caminarno, ne mai in tutto questo  
spacio heberno vista de cosa alcuna; et intracti nel quinto mese,  
volendo pure inanti seguire, dicono che ritrovarno masse grand-  
issime de concreta neve andare, mosse de l'onde sopra il mare  
a galla, de la summità de lequali, per la potentia del sole, una  
dolce et chiara aqua se dissolvea, et disciolta per canaleti da  
epsi facti ruinando al basso giu cadea, onde, che havendo gia le  
nave bisogno de aqua, con li battelli a quelle se acostarno, et  
per quanto fu a lor necessario ne prenderno. Et temendo de  
stare in quel locho per il loro presente periculo, volseno tornare  
indrieta, ma pur aiutati da speranza, deliberarno como meglio  
potesseno andare anchora alcun giorno inanti, et posseronsi al  
viaggio, nel secondo giorno delquale ritrovarno el Mar gelato,  
et constrecti ha abandonare la impresa, cominciarno a circon-  
dare verso Maestro et ponente, ove tre mesi sempre con bon  
tempo a quella volta continuarno. Et nel primo giorno del  
quarto mese heberno vista, fra questi dui venti, d'un grandissimo  
paese, alquale con grandissima allegrezza se acostarno, et cor-  
rendo molti et grandi fiumi dolci per quella regione al mare, per  
uno de epsi forse una legha fra terra intrarno, et in quella dis-  
montati trovano copia de suavissimi et diversi fructi, et albori  
et pini de si smisurata alteza et grosseza che serebbero troppo  
per arborio de la piu gran nave che vadi in mare. Ivi non nasce  
biada d'alcuna sorte, ma gli homini di quel paese dicono non viv-  
ere se non de pescasone et caza de animali, de liquali el paese  
abonda, cioè cervi grandissimi, vestiti de longissimo pelò, le

pelle de liquali usano per veste, ne fanno case et barche; et cusi lupi, volpe, tigri et zebellini. Affernano esservi, che mi pare miraculo, tanti falcuni peregrini, quante passare sono nel nostro paese, et io ne ho veduti, et sono belletissimi. De gli homini et de le donne de questo locho, ne pigliarno circha da cinquanta per forza, et hannoli portati al Re, liquali io ho visti, tochi et contemplati, et cominciando alla loro grandeza, dico che sono alquanto piu grandi del nostro naturale, com membre corrispondevole et ben formate. Li capilli de maschii sono longi, quanto noi altri usiamo, et pendeno con certe inhanelate volveture, et hanno il volto con gram signi segnato, et li segni sono como quelli de li indiani; gli occhi suoi tranno al verde da liquali quando guardano, dona un gram fireza a tutto il viso. La voce non se intende ma per cio in se non ha alcuna aspreza, anzi piu presto è humana. La condictione et gesti loro son mansuetissimi: rideno assai e dimostrano summo piacere; et questo è quanto alli homini. La dona ha piccole poppe et bellissimo corpo, et tien un viso assai gentileseo, il coloro de lequale piu presto se puo dire bianco cha altro, ma il maschio è assai piu negro. In summa, salvo che la teribile guardadura de l'homo, in ogni altra cosa mi pareno equali alla imagine et similitudine nostra. Da ogni parte sono nudi, salvo che le membre vergognose, che con una pelle de sopra dicti cervi se tengan coperti. Non hanno arme, ne ferro niuno, ma cio che lavorano et cio che fanno, fanno con durissime pietre aguze, con lequale non è cosa si dura che non taglino. Questo naviglio è venuto di la a qua in un mese, et dicono esservi 2800 milia de distantia. L'altro compagno ha deliberato andar tanto per quella costa che vole intendere se quella è insula o pur terra ferma. Et cusi il Re con molto desiderio et quello et altri aspecta, liquali venuti che siano, et portando cosa digna de Vostra Excellentia, subito ne dâro notitia a quella.....

Me raccomandando a Vostra Excellentia,

Illustrissimi et Excellentissimi Ducis D. V.

Servitor ALBERTUS CANTINUS ss.

Lisbone die xbi octobris 1501.

[Endorsed] Illustrissimo Principi et Excellentissimo

Domino, Domino Herculi Estensi, Duci Ferrarië,

dignissimo ac domino meo singlarissimo,

Ferrarie.

From the Archivio di Stato at Modena, Dispacci della Spagna, at the date: original: printed in HARRISSE, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 262-4; idem., *Les Corte-Real*, 204-9; and reprinted from the former work in the *Archivo dos Açores*, IV, 424-6.

## XXIIA.

Most Illustrious and most Excellent Prince, my very singular good Lord:

Nine months have now passed since this most serene monarch<sup>1</sup> sent to the northern parts two well-equipped ships, for the sole purpose of finding out if it were possible to discover in that region any lands or islands. Now on the eleventh of the present month one of them has arrived safe and with some booty; and has brought people and news, which it appeared to me ought not to pass without your Excellency's hearing thereof; and thus I have set down here below clearly and exactly all that in my presence was told the king by the captain. First of all they relate that after setting sail as they did from the port of Lisbon, they made their way for four months continuously, always in the same direction and towards the same pole, and never in all that time did they see anything at all. Nevertheless in the fifth month, still wishing to push on, they say that they met huge masses of solid snow floating upon the sea and moving under the influence of the waves, from the summit of which by the force of the sun's rays a clear stream of sweet water was melted and once dissolved ran down in little channels made by itself, eating its way splashingly to the base. Since the ships now lacked fresh water, the boats approached and took as much as was then needed. Fearing to remain in that region by reason of this present danger, they wished to turn back, but yet, spurred by hope, decided to go forward as best they could for a few days more, and having got under way, on the second day they again discovered the sea to be frozen, and were forced to give up the undertaking. They then began to turn towards the north-west and the west, in which direction they made their way for three more months, always with favourable weather. And on the first day of the fourth month they caught sight between these two courses of a very large country which

<sup>1</sup> King Emmanuel I.



they approached with very great delight. And since throughout this region numerous large rivers flowed into the sea, by one of these they made their way about a league inland, where on landing they found abundance of most luscious and varied fruits, and trees and pines of such measureless height and girth, that they would be too big as a mast for the largest ship that sails the sea. No corn of any sort grows there, but the men of that country say they live altogether by fishing and hunting animals. in which the land abounds, such as very large deer, covered with extremely long hair, the skins of which they use for garments and also make houses and boats thereof, and again wolves, foxes, tigers and sables. They [the explorers] affirm that there are, what appears to me wonderful, as many falcons as there are sparrows in our country, and I have seen some of them and they are extremely pretty. They forcibly kidnapped about fifty men and women of this country and have brought them to the king. I have seen, touched and examined these people, and beginning with their stature, declare that they are somewhat taller than our average, with members corresponding and well-formed. The hair of the men is long, just as we wear ours. and they wear it in curls, and have their faces marked with great signs, and these signs are like those of the [East] Indians. Their eyes are greenish and when they look at one, this gives an air of great boldness to their whole countenance. Their speech is unintelligible, but nevertheless is not harsh but rather human. Their manners and gestures are most gentle; they laugh considerably and manifest the greatest pleasure. So much for the men. The women have small breasts and most beautiful bodies, and rather pleasant faces. The colour of these women may be said to be more white than otherwise, but the men are considerably darker. In fine, except for the terribly harsh look of the men, they appear to me to be in all else of the same form and image as ourselves. They go quite naked except for their privy parts, which they cover with a skin of the above-mentioned deer. They have no arms nor iron, but whatever they work or fashion, they cut with very hard sharp stones, with which they split in two the very hardest substances. This vessel came home thence in one month and they say the distance is 2800 miles. The other consort decided to make her way far enough along that coast to be able to learn whether it is an island or yet mainland. And thus the king awaits with great eagerness both that one and others, and when they have arrived, should they bring

anything worthy of your Excellency's consideration, I shall immediately send you word of the same.....

My respects to your Excellency.

Your most Illustrious and most Excellent

Grace's servant,

ALBERT CANTINO.

Lisbon, 17 October, 1501.

Also translated in Markham, op. cit., 232-4. A French translation will be found in Harisse, *Les Corte-Real*, 55-7.

### XXIII.

18 October, 1501.

LETTER FROM PIETRO PASQUALIGO TO THE SIGNIORY OF VENICE.

Copia di una lettera scritta in Portogallo a di 18 octubrio 1501: ricevuda a di 28 dezembrio 1501.

A di 9 dil presente arivo qui una di doe caravelle quale l'anno passato la Maiestà del dito re mando a discoprir terra verso le parte de tramontana, et ha conduto 7 tra homeni et femene et puti de terra per quella discoperta. Erra maistro et ponente lontan di qui miglia 1800. Questi homeni de aspeto, figura et statura somigliano cingani; hanno signada la faza in diversi logi, chi de piu, chi de mancho segni, vestiti di pelle de diversi animali, ma *precipue* di lodre. El parlar suo è *penitus* alieno da ogni altro che fin horra se sia sentito in questo regno, nè vien inteso da persona alcuna. Sonno benissimo disposti ne li membri loro, et hanno faze mansuetissime, ma modi et gesti bestialissimi et come de homeni silvestri. Credeno questi di la caravella la soprascrita terra esser terra ferma, et conjungerse con altra terra, laqual l'anno passato soto la tramontana fu discoperta da l'altre caravele de questa Maiestà. *Licet* non poteseno arivar a quella per esser el mar li agiazato con grandissima quantità di neve in modo che monti. Qual terra *etiam* credeno conjungerse con le Andilie, che furono discoperte per li Reali di Spagna, et con la terra dei papaga, *noviter* trovata per le nave di questo re che andorono in Calicut. El creder questo se moveno, prima, perche havendo corsa la costa de dita terra per spazio de 600 et piu miglia, non hanno trovato fin alguno; poi, perche dicono haver trovate molte fiunare grosissime, che li

meteno in mare. Expetasse di zorno in zorno l'altra caravella capetania, da laqual distinctamente se intendera la qualità et condition ch'è la sopradita terra, per esser andata piu avanti, scorendo per quella costa, per discoprir quanto piu potra di quella. De questa nova, questa regia Maiestà ha auto gran piacer, perche li par che questa terra sera molto a proposito di le cose sue, per piu respeti, ma *precipue* perche essendo molto vicina a questo regno facilmente et in pocho tempo potra haver grandissima copia di legnami per fabrication di arbori et antene di nave, et homeni schiavi assai, da ogni fatica, imperho che dicono quella terra esser populatissima et piena di pini et altri legni optimi; et tanto ha piacuto dita nova a sua Maiestà che li ha fato venir volontà de mandar navillii *iterum* a dito locho, et acrescer la flota sua per India, per conquistar piu presto hormai cha per discoprir, perche li par che Dio sii con sua Maiestà ne le opere sue et mandi ad effecto ogni suo disegno.....

From the Biblioteca nazionale di S. Marco at Venice, MSS. Italiani, Cl. 7, No. 422, Diarii di Sanuto, volumen IV, fol. 93 *recto* and *verso*: printed in *Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, IV, 200-01, Venezia, 1880; HARRISSE, *Les Corte-Real*, etc., 209-10; and in the *Archivo dos Açores*, IV, 587-8 (from HARRISSE).

### XXIIIA.

Copy of a letter written in Portugal on 18 October, 1501: received on 28 December, 1501.

On the ninth of the present month arrived here one of two caravels which his said majesty<sup>1</sup> sent out last year to discover land in the northern parts, and it has brought back seven natives, men, women and children, from the land discovered. It was towards the north and west, 1800 miles away. These men in aspect, appearance and stature resemble gypsies: they have their faces marked here and there, some with many, others with few signs, [and are] clothed in the skins of divers animals, but chiefly of otter. Their speech is utterly different from any hitherto heard in this kingdom; nor does any one understand it. They are exceedingly well-formed in their limbs, and have most gentle countenances, but most bestial habits and manners, like wild men. The crew of this caravel believes that the above-mentioned land is mainland, and that it joins another land which was discovered last year in the north by other caravels belonging to this king. It seems they could not land in that

<sup>1</sup> King Emmanuel I.

country as the sea there was frozen over with great masses of snow, like mountains. They are also of opinion that this land is connected with the Antilles<sup>1</sup>, which were discovered by the sovereigns of Spain, and with the land of the Parrots<sup>2</sup> recently found by this king's vessel on their way to Calicut. To this belief they are moved in the first place, because after ranging the coast of said land for the space of 600 miles and more, they did not find it come to an end; next, because they say they have discovered many exceedingly large rivers which there enter the sea. The other caravel, the captain's, is expected from day to day, and from it will be learned positively the nature and condition of the above-mentioned land, because she set off to range that coast further, in order to discover as much of it as possible. This news has given the king here great pleasure, since it seems to him that this country will be most useful to his plans in several respects, but chiefly because being very near to his kingdom, he will be able to secure without difficulty and in a short time a very large quantity of timber for making masts and ships' yards, and plenty of men-slaves, fit for every kind of labour, inasmuch as they say that this land is very well populated and full of pines and other excellent woods. And said news has so pleased his majesty that it has made him desirous of sending ships again to said region, and of increasing his fleet for India, in order to conquer more quickly, now that he has discoveries in view; because it seems to him that God is with his majesty in his labours and brings every plan of his to fulfilment. ....

Also translated in Markham, *op. cit.*, 236-8.

## XXIV.

15 January, 1502.

ROYAL CONFIRMATION TO MICHAEL CORTE REAL OF THE LANDS  
GRANTED TO HIM BY HIS BROTHER GASPAR.

Dom Manuell, etc. A quantos esta nosa carta virem, fazemos saber, que Miguell Corte Reall, fidallguo de nossa cassa, e nosso porteiro moor, nos disse ora, que vemdo elle como Gaspar Corte Reall, seu irmaao, avia dias que partira desta cidade com

<sup>1</sup> The West Indies.

<sup>2</sup> Brazil.



tres navyos a descobrir terra nova, da quall ja tinha achada parte della, e como depois de pasado tempo vieram dous dos ditos navyos aa dita cidade, averiam cinco messes, e elle nam vinha, que elle o queria hyr buscar; e que por quanto elle dito Miguell Corte Reall tinha feito muyto gasto e despesa de sua fazenda no dito descobrimento, asy nos ditos navyos que ho dito seu irmão pera ella armou por a primeira vez que a dita terra achou, e asy desta segunda que ora foy como com elle; pelo que o dito Gaspar Corte Reall, avendo respeito a isso, lhe prometera de partir com elle da dita terra que asy descobrisse asy e na maneira que a elle tinhamos outorgada e dada per nosa doaçam, da quall coussa o dito Gaspar Corte Reall nos pedio ante de sua partida, que lhe mandassemos disso dar hûu nosso alvara, o quall lhe demos a seu requerimento, pelo quall nos prouve, que toda a terra que lhe elle asy desse e demarcasse fosse sua, asy como a elle de nos tinha, e em sua carta era contheudo; e ora o dito Miguell Corte Reall nos pedio que pera sua segurança o decrarassemos asy e outorgassemos per esta nosa carta, pello quall, de nosso moto proprio, certa çiência, livre vomtade, poder Reall e aussoluto nos praz, que de toda a terra firme ou Ilhas que ho dito Gaspar Corte Reall atee ora tem achadas, ou descobrir daquella parte, que elle denomear e demarcar ao dito Miguel Corte Reall por sua, lhe fazemos della doaçam e merçee, pera todo ssempre, como de fecto per esta fazemos, asy e tam cunprimamente, e com aquellas clausullas e comdições, direitos, jurdiçam, capitanyas e c<sup>o</sup>ussas outras comtheudas na doaçam do dito Gaspar Corte Reall.

Outrosy nos praz, avendo nos isso mesmo respeito ao que dito he, e asy aos muytos serviços que temos recebidos, e ao diamte esperamos receber do dito Miguel Corte Reall, que seendo casso que elle nom ache o dito sseu irmão, ou sendo falecido, o que Deos nam mande, queremos e nos praz, que toda a terra firme e Ilhas que elle per si novamente neste anno de quinhentos e dous descobrir e achar, alem da que o dito seu irmãoo tener achada, elle a aja pera sy, e lhe fazemos della doaçam e merçee, com aquellas jurdições, direitos, capitanyas, clausullas, comdições e coussas outras comtheudas e decraradas na dita doaçam do dito seu irmão, e por firmeza de todo lhe mandamos dar esta carta per nos asinada, e sellada do nosso sello pendemte. Dada em Lixboa a xb dias de janeiro. Gaspar Rodriguez a fez, anno de nosso Senhor Jhûu X<sup>o</sup> de mill e b<sup>o</sup> e dous — e daquelas terras ou Ilhas que ho dito sseu irmão asy tener

achadas e descobertas, nom lhe fazemos doaçam, ssoamente daquellas que lhe asy nomear como dito he.

From the Torre do Tombo, liv. IV of Dom Manoel, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>: printed in F. Kunstmann, *Die Entdeckung Amerikas*, etc., 93-4, note 120, Munich, 1859; Harris, *Les Corte-Real*, 214-5; the *Archivo dos Açores*, IV, 508-9; and in *Alguns Documentos*, etc., 131-2.

#### XXIV A.

King Emmanuel, etc. To as many as shall see these letters of ours, we make known, that Michael Corte Real, a nobleman of our court, and our major-domo, has now informed us that, forasmuch as his brother Gaspar Corte Real some time ago set forth from this city with three ships to discover the new land, of which he had already explored a part, and that about five months since two of the said ships arrived in the said city, but he [Gaspar] did not return, he [Michael] is desirous of going in search of him [Gaspar]; and that inasmuch as he, the said Michael Corte Real, has already spent a considerable sum in money and goods in the said expedition, as well in fitting out the said ships the first time his said brother discovered the said land, as in this second attempt in which he [Michael] accompanied him, on which account the said Gaspar Corte Real, having regard thereto, promised to share with him [Michael] the said land he should thus discover, in the same manner in which we by our letters granted and made it over to him [Gaspar], of which concession the said Gaspar Corte Real asked us before his departure to give him our letters patent, which at his request we granted, by which it was our pleasure that all the land he should give and set apart for him [Michael], should be his, in the same manner that he [Gaspar] held from us, and was set forth in his letters patent; and now the said Michael Corte Real has asked us for his safeguard to state this and to grant the same by these letters of ours, by which, of our own motion, certain knowledge, free will, royal and absolute power, it is our pleasure, that whatever portion of the mainland or islands hitherto found or discovered in that region by the said Gaspar Corte Real, which he has assigned and set apart for the said Michael Corte Real, be granted and made over to him for ever, as indeed by this grant we now make them over, in the same manner and as fully and with those clauses and conditions,

rights, jurisdiction, governorships and other matters that are set out in the grant to the said Gaspar Corte Real.

Furthermore it is our pleasure having this same regard to what is stated, and also to the many services we have received and hope in the future to receive from the said Michael Corte Real, that should he not find his said brother [Gaspar], or should he be dead, which God forbid, we desire and it is our pleasure, that he have for himself, and we give and grant him, all the mainland and islands which he in this year 1502 may discover and find afresh, in addition to what his brother has found, with those jurisdictions, rights, governorships, clauses, conditions and other matters contained and set forth in the said letters patent to his said brother; and in witness thereof we order these our letters, signed and sealed by us with our hanging seal, to be given to him. Given in Lisbon on 15 January. Gaspar Rodriguez made this in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1502.

And we do not grant him those lands or islands which his said brother has found and discovered, but only those we have named as already stated.

## XXV.

9 December, 1502.

LETTERS PATENT TO HUGH ELIOT, THOMAS ASHURST OF  
BRISTOL AND JOHN GONZALES AND FRANCIS FER-  
NANDEZ OF THE AZORES.

De licencia inquirendi terram ignotam.

Rex, universis et singulis ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, Salutem: Notum sit vobis et manifestum quod, ex certis consideracionibus nos moventibus, de advisamento consilii nostri, concessimus et licenciam dedimus, prout per presentes concedimus et licenciam damus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, dilectis subditis nostris, Hugoni Elyot et Thome Asshehurste, mercatoribus ville nostre Bristollie, ac dilectis nobis, Johanni Gunsalus et Francisco Ffarnandus, Armigeris, in Insulis de Surrys [*sic pro* Açoribus] sub obediencia Regis Portugalie oriundis, et eorum cuilibet, ac cuiuslibet eorum heredibus, attornatis, factoribus seu deputatis, ac eis et eorum cuilibet, plenam et liberam auctoritatem, facultatem et potestatem committimus, navigandi et se transferendi ad omnes

partes, regiones et fines maris orientalis, occidentalis, australis, Borialis et septemtrionalis sub Banneris et insigniis nostris, cum tot et tantis et talibus navibus sive batellis, quot sibi placuerint et necessarie fuerint, cuiuscumque portagii quilibet navis sive batella exstiterit, cum Magistris, Contromagistris, Marinariis, Pagettis, aliisque hominibus pro gubernacione, salva custodia et defensione navium et batellarum predictarum competentibus, requisitis et necessariis, ad custus et onera dicti Hugonis et aliorum predictorum, et pro huiusmodi salariis, vadiis et stipendiis, prout inter eos poterunt concordare, ad inveniendum, recuperandum, discooperiendum et investigandum insulas, patrias, regiones sive provincias quascumque gentilium et infidelium, in quacumque mundi parte positas, ac huiusmodi Banneras et Insignia nostra in quacumque Villa, Opido (*sic*), Castro, Insula seu terra firma, a se sic noviter inventis, affigendi, ipsaque Villas, Oppida, Castra, Insulas et terras firmas pro nobis et nomine nostro intrandi et capiendi, et ea tanquam vasalli nostri, ac Gubernatores, locatenentes et deputati nostri, eorundem domino, titulo, dignitate et preeminencia eorundem nobis semper reservatis, occupandi, possidendi et subiugandi. Proviso semper quod de terris, patriis, regionibus sive provinciis gentilium aut infidelium per subditos carissimi fratris et consanguinei nostri Portugalie Regis, seu aliorum quorumcumque Principum, amicorum et confederatorum nostrorum prius repertis, et in quarum possessione ipsi Principes jam existunt, se nullo modo impediant aut intromittant. Et insuper quodcumque imposterum huiusmodi insule, patrie, terre et provincie per prefatos Hugonem et alios nominatos adeptes, recuperate et invente fuerint, tunc volumus per presentes quod omnes et singule tam viri quam femine huius regni nostri ceterique subditi nostri, terras et Insulas huiusmodi sic noviter inventas visitare, et in eisdem inhabitare cupientes et desiderantes, possint et valeant, licite et impune, ad ipsas patrias, insulas et loca cum eorum navibus, hominibus et servientibus, rebus et bonis suis universis transire, et in eisdem sub proteccionem et regimenem dictorum Hugonis et aliorum prenominatorum morari et inhabitare, diviciasque fructus et emolumenta terrarum, patriarum et locorum predictorum adquirere et obtinere.

Dantes insuper et concedentes prefatis Hugoni, Thome, Johanni et Francisco et eorum cuilibet plenam, tenore presentium, potestatem et auctoritatem omnes et singulos homines, marinos ceterasque personas, ad Insulas, patrias, provincias, terras firmas et loca predicta, ex causa predicta, se divertentes et



confluentes, tam in comitiva dictorum Hugonis et aliorum pre-nominatorum quam in comitiva aliorum illuc imposterum re-cursum habere contingencium, tam supra mare quam in singulis patriis, terris firmis et locis huiusmodi, postquam inventa et recuperata fuerint, regendi et gubernandi, legesque ordina-ciones, statuta et proclamaciones pro bono et quiete regimine et gubernacione dictorum hominum, magistrorum, marinariorum et aliarum personarum predictarum faciendi, stabiliendi, ordi-nandi et constituendi et superinde proclamaciones faciendi, ac omnes et singulos quos in hac parte contrarios et rebelles ac legibus, statutis et ordinacionibus predictis inobedientes inven-erint, ac omnes illos qui furtum, homicidia seu rapinas com-miserint et perpetraverint, aut aliquas mulieres insularum seu patriarum predictarum contra earum voluntatem aut aliter rapuerint et violaverint, juxta leges et statuta per ipsos in hac parte ordinata castigandi et puniendi.

Ac eciam concessimus prefatis Hugoni, Thome, Johanni et Francisco, heredibus et assignatis suis, quod postquam alique Insule, patrie, terre firme, regio seu provincia imposterum per ipsum Hugonem et alios prenomatos in-venta fuerint, tunc non licebit alicui seu aliquibus sub-dito seu subditis nostris, durante termino quadraginta annorum proximo et immediate sequencium, ad ipsas villas, patrias, insulas, terras firmas et loca, causâ mercandisandi ac bona acquirendi, absque licencia nostra regia et dictorum Hugonis et aliorum prenominatorum, heredum et assignatorum suorum, cum suis navibus frequentare, aut se divertere, aut in eadem ingredi, seu in eisdem pro aliquibus bonis acquirendis intromittere. Et post terminum dictorum quadraginta annorum, quod nullus ex nostris subditis ad aliquam terram firmam, Insulam, patriam seu locum per ipsos Hugonem et Thomam et alios predictos sic noviter inventum, navigare et frequentare presumat, absque licencia nostra predicta et dictorum Hugonis et ceterorum predictorum, sub pena amissionis et forisfacture omnium bonorum et mercandisarum, rerum et navium quorum-cunque ad ea loca sic noviter inventa navigare et in eadem ingredi presumencium, videlicet, una medietas inde erit ad opus nostrum, et alia medietas ad opus dictorum Hugonis et aliorum prenominatorum et heredum suorum.

Et ulterius ex habundanti gratia nostra concessimus et per presentes concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, prefatis Hugoni, Thome, Johanni et Francisco et eorum cuilibet, heredibus et assignatis suis, quod ipsi et eorum

quilibet mercandisas, mercimonia, aurum et argentum in massa, lapides preciosos et alia bona quecumque de crescencia patriarum, Insularum et locorum predictorum per ipsos sic recuperandorum et inveniendorum, tam in dictis navibus et batellis, quam aliis quibuscumque navibus exteris a dictis patriis, Insulis, terris firmis et locis in hoc regnum nostrum Anglie ad quemcumque portum seu alium locum eiusdem adducere et cariare, et adduci seu cariare facere possit et valeat, eaque vendere et distribuere ad eorum proficuum et avantagium, aliquo statuto, actu, ordinacione seu provisione inde in contrarium facta sive ordinata non obstante.

Ac nos intime considerantes grandia custos et onera que circa premissa facienda et perimplenda requiruntur, volentes igitur prefatis Hugoni, Thome et aliis memoratis personis gratiam proinde facere specialem, concessimus, prout per presentes concedimus eisdem, heredibus et assignatis suis, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet heredes et assignati sui predicti, de tempore in tempus, durante termino quinque annorum a tempore recuperacionis et invencionis insularum et patriarum predictorum proximi et immediate sequencium, mercandisas, mercimonia ceteraque bona in una navi tantum cuiuscumque portagii fuerit eskipkata et onustata, ac in hoc regnum nostrum Anglie adducenda et transportanda, in portu seu loco predicto ad terram ponere, eaque vendere, exponere, et pro libito suo distribuere possint, de tempore in tempus, quolibet viagio, durante termino dictorum quinque annorum absque aliquibus custumis, subsidiis seu aliis deveriis pro eisdem bonis, mercimoniis et ceteris premissis in dicta unica navi tantum contentis et eskipatis nobis aut heredibus nostris infra dictum regnum nostrum Anglie aliquid solvendis. Proviso tamen quod nobis de custumis, subsidiis, pondagiis et aliis denariis nobis pro ceteris mercandis, mercimoniis et bonis in omnibus aliis navibus contentis, juxta consuetudinem in hoc regno nostro Anglie hactenus usitatam, fideliter respondeatur, ut est justum.

Et insuper volumus et concedimus per presentes, quod quilibet Capitalis Magister, Contromagister et Marinarius cuiuslibet navis ad aliquam terram firmam, Insulam, patriam, provinciam et locum predictos frequentantis et navigantis, habeant, gaudeant et percipiant de bonis et mercimoniis a dictis Insulis, terris firmis et patriis in hoc regnum Anglie adducendis<sup>1</sup>, custumas et subsidia sequencia, videlicet: quod quilibet

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has *adducendas*, but Rymer as above.

Magister habeat, gaudeat et percipiat subsidia et custumas quolibet viagio quatuor doliorum, et quilibet Contromagister vel quarter magister custumas et subsidia duorum doliorum, ac quilibet marinarius custumas et subsidia unius dolii, licet sint carcata et eskippata ut bona sua propria, aut ut bona alicuius alterius persone cuiuscumque. Et hoc absque aliquibus subsidiis, custumis, debitis seu deveriis infra hoc regnum nostrum Anglie ad opus nostrum aut heredum nostrorum pro eisdem doliis aliquiditer solvendis seu petendis.

Et si contingat aliquem vel aliquos mercatorem seu mercatores huius regni nostri ad dictas Insulas, patrias et loca sub licencia dictorum subditorum nostrorum, aut absque licencia sua, causa habendi mercandisas vel mercimonia adventare, et laborare ad bona et mercimonia ab eisdem partibus in hoc regnum nostrum adducere, tunc volumus et concedimus per presentes prefatis Hugoni, Thome, Johanni et ffrancisco et heredibus et assignatis suis, quod ipsi, durante termino quadraginta annorum antedicto, habeant de quolibet huiusmodi mercatore, solutis nobis custumis, subsidiis et aliis denariis nobis in hac parte debitis et consuetis, vicesimam partem omnium huiusmodi bonorum et mercimoniorum per ipsos a dictis Insulis, patriis et locis, quolibet viagio, durante dicto termino quadraginta annorum in hoc regnum nostrum Anglie traducendorum et capiendorum; habendam et capiendam huiusmodi vicesimam partem in portu ubi contigerit, dicta bona discarcari et exonerari. Proviso semper quod predictus Hugo et alii predicti, heredes et assignati sui, et non alii omnino imposterum, dicto termino quadraginta annorum durante, sint factores et attornati in dictis Insulis, terris firmis et patriis pro quibuscumque huiusmodi mercatoriis aliisque personis illuc ex causa predicta confluentibus, in et pro eorum factis mercatoriis in eisdem. Proviso eciam quod nulla navis cum bonis et mercandis a dictis partibus sic noviter inventis carcata et onustata, postquam in aliquem portum huius regni nostri adducta fuerint (*sic*), non exoneretur de eisdem bonis et mercandis, nisi in presencia prefatorum Hugonis et aliorum predictorum, eorumve heredum seu deputatorum ad hoc assignandorum, sub pena forisfacture eorundem bonorum et mercandisarum, unde una medietas ad opus nostrum et alia medietas prefatis Hugoni et aliis prenomminatis et heredibus suis applicantur.

Et si imposterum aliqui extranei aut alie persone ad ipsas partes contra voluntatem ipsorum Hugonis et aliorum prenominatorum, causa habendi divicias, navigare, et ea vi et armis

ingredi, ac dictos Hugonem et alios predictos, aut heredes suos ibidem insultare, ac eos expellere et debellare, aut alias inquietare presumpserint, quod tunc volumus ac eisdem subditis nostris, tenore presencium, potestatem damus et committimus, ipsos extraneos, licet sint subditi et vasalli alienius Principis nobiscum in liga et amicieia existentis, totis suis viribus, tam per terram quam per mare et aquas dulces expugnandi, resistendi et guerram contra eos levandi et faciendi, eosque capiendi, subpeditandi et incarcerandi ibidem, quousque fines et redempciones eisdem subditis nostris fecerint moraturos, aut alias secundum sanam discrecionem ipsorum subditorum nostrorum et heredum suorum castigandi et puniendi.

Et eciam prefatis subditis nostris ceterisque personis predictis plenam, tenore presencium, potestatem damus et committimus, sub se quoscumque Capitaneos, locatenentes et deputatos in singulis Civitatibus, Villis, Oppidis et locis dictarum Insularum, provinciarum, patriarum et locorum predictorum, ad regendum et gubernandum omnes et singulas personas in eisdem partibus, sub regimine et gubernacione dictorum subditorum nostrorum ibidem commorancium, ac ad justiciam eisdem, secundum tenorem et effectum ordinacionum, statutorum et proclamacionum predictorum debite exequendam et administrandam, per literas suas patentes, sigillis eorum sigillandas faciendi, constituendi, nominandi et substituendi.

Et insuper concessimus et per presentes concedimus prefatis Hugoni, Thome, Johanni et ffrancisco ad terminum vite sue, et cuiuslibet eorum diucius viventis, officium Admiralli supra mare in quibuscumque locis, patriis et provinciis a se sic noviter inventis, et imposterum inveniendis et recuperandis; ipsosque Hugonem, Thomam, Johannem et ffranciscum et eorum quemlibet, coniunctim et divisim, Admirallos nostros in eisdem partibus facimus, constituimus, ordinamus et deputamus per presentes, dantes et concedentes eisdem et eorum cuilibet plenam, tenore presencium, potestatem et auctoritatem ea omnia et singula que ad officium Admirallitatis pertinent, faciendi, excercendi et exequendi, secundum legem et consuetudinem maritimam in hoc regno nostro Anglie usitatum.

Ac eciam postquam prefati Hugo, Thomas, Johannes et ffranciscus aliquas terras firmas, Insulas, patrias et provincias, Oppida, Castra, Civitates et Villas per assistenciam nostram sic invenerint, optinuerint et subiugaverint, tunc volumus et per presentes concedimus eisdem, heredibus et assignatis suis, quod ipsi et heredes sui habeant, teneant et possideant sibi,



heredibus et assignatis suis, omnia et singula, talia et tanta terras firmas, Insulas, patrias, provincias, Castra, Oppida, fortalia, Civitates et Villas, qualia et quanta ipsi ac homines, tenentes et servientes sui, possunt inhabitare, custodire, sustinere et manutenere, habenda et tenenda eadem terras, Insulas et loca predicta sibi, heredibus et assignatis suis, et cuiuslibet eorum, de nobis et heredibus nostris imperpetuum per fidelitatem tantum, absque aliquo compoto, seu aliquo alio nobis aut heredibus nostris proinde reddendo seu faciendo; dignitate, dominio, regalitate, iurisdiccione et præminencia in eisdem nobis semper salvis et omnino reservatis.

Et ulterius concessimus prefatis Hugoni, Thome, Johanni et Francisco quod ipsi, heredes et assignati sui predicti, dictas terras firmas, Insulas et patrias, ipsis et heredibus suis predictis, ut premittitur sic concessas<sup>1</sup>, postquam invente et recuperate sint, ac cum in plena possessione earundem fuerint, gaudeant, teneant et possideant libere, quiete, pacifice absque impedimento aliquali nostri aut heredum nostrorum quorumcumque. Et quod nullus ex subditis nostris eos aut eorum aliquem de et super possessione et titulo suis de et in dictis terris firmis, Insulis et patriis se aliququaliter contra voluntatem suam expellat quovis modo. Promittentes bonâ fide et in verbo regio nos ratum, gratum et firmum habituros totem et quicquid prefati Hugo, Thomas, Johannes et Francisco et eorum quilibet pro premissorum complemento fecerint, fierique procuraverint in hac parte. Et quod nos aut heredes nostri nullo unquam tempore infuturum ipsos aut eorum aliquem, heredesve et assignatos suos, in jure, titulo et possessione suis inquietabimus, impediemus aut molestiam eis faciemus, nec per alios nostros subditos aut alios quoscumque, quantum in nobis fuerit, fieri seu procurari permittimus seu procurabimus; nec ipsos, heredes et assignatos suos, pro aliqua causa imposterum emergente seu contingente, ab eisdem terris firmis, patriis, provinciis et locis, nullo modo, amovebimus aut amoveri seu expelli per subditos nostros procurabimus. Proviso semper quod si contingat ipsos Hugonem, Thomam, Johannem et Franciscum aut eorum aliquem, heredes seu assignatos suos, aut eorum aliquem, aliqua loca, Insulas, terras, regiones, provincias et patrias imposterum reperire, investigare seu recuperare, que antehac ab aliis subditis nostris, aut ab aliquibus heredibus et assignatis suorum, potestatem per alias literas nostras patentis sub magno sigillo

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<sup>1</sup> The MS. has *concessis*, but Rymer as above.

nostro in ea parte a nobis habentibus, reperta, inventa, investigata et recuperata non fuerint, quod tunc volumus et per presentes concedimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, prefatis Hugoni, Thome, Johanni et Francisco, et eorum cuilibet, heredibus et assignatis suis, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet Insulas, patrias, provincias et alia loca predicta cum eorum navibus, hominibus, servientibus et rebus suis quibuscumque ad libitum suum ingredi, tenere, exercere, pacifque secure inhabitare, ac inhabitari facere, et occupare absque contradiccione seu impedimento nostri aut heredum nostrorum vel aliquorum aliorum ligeorum nostrorum quorumcumque possint et valeant. Et quod nullus ex aliis nostris subditis ad aliquam Insulam, terram, regionem, patriam et provinciam seu locum per ipsos Hugonem, Thomam, Johannem et Franciscum sic noviter inventa navigare et frequentare aut in eadem ingredi, causa acquirendi seu habendi fructus, merces et mercimonia in eisdem crescencia presumat, absque licencia nostra regia et prefatorum Hugonis, Thome, Johannis et Francisci optinerent specialem, sub pena amissionis et forisfacture omnium bonorum, mercandiarum, rerum et navium quorumcumque ad ea loca sic per ipsos noviter inventa navigare et in eadem ingredi presumendum; videlicet, una medietas inde erit ad opus nostrum et alia medietas ad opus dictorum Hugonis, Thome, Johannis et Francisci, heredum et assignatorum suorum.

Et quamquam per alias literas nostras patentes de data decimi noni diei mensis maii<sup>1</sup>, anno regni nostri sextodecimo, concesserimus et commiserimus dilectis nobis Richardo Warde, Johanni Thomas et Johanni Bernardus, ac prefatis Hugoni Eliot, Thome Asshehurst, Johanni Gunsalus et Francisco Bernardus, heredibus, attornatis, factoribus seu deputatis suis, et eorum cuilibet, potestatem et facultatem navigandi ad omnes partes, regiones et fines maris, ad inveniendum et recuperandum et discooperiendum Insulas, patrias et provincias memoratas, ac ad singula alia in eisdem literis contenta et specificata, juxta tenorem et effectum earundem exercendum et exequendum; nolumus tamen quod iidem Richardus Warde, Johannes Thomas et Johannes Bernardus nec eorum aliquis, heredes seu assignati sui, de aut in aliquibus patriis, Insulis, terris, locis seu provinciis imposterum de novo sub auctoritate et potestate

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<sup>1</sup> This is clearly a mistake for *marcii* which in the MSS. is abbreviated as a rule into *mcii*. The names correspond with those in No. XX, p. 41, except for the addition of that of Hugh Eliot. No trace can be found of any letters of 19 May, 1501.

presencium literarum nostrarum inveniendis, recuperandis et discooperiendis, nisi primitus a prefatis Hugone, Thomâ Assshehurste, Johanne Gunsalus et ffrancisco licenciam optinuerint, aliquid se intromittant, nec eorum aliquis se intromittat.

Et quod in casu quo iidem Richardus Warde, Johannes Thomas et Johannes ffranandus, aut eorum aliquis, seu heredes aut assignati sui, ad huiusmodi Insulas, patrias, regiones et alia loca predicta, cum eorum navibus et rebus, pro bonis in eisdem Insulis, patriis et aliis locis predictis acquirendis se divertere, aut aliquem vel aliquos illuc mittere et destinare voluerint, decreverint et disposuerint, quod tunc ipsi et eorum quilibet omnia et omnimoda custus et onera cum prefatis Hugone, Thomâ Assshehurste, Johanne Gunsalus et ffrancisco circa huiusmodi viagium exponenda, videlicet, quilibet eorum juxta ratam porcionis sue, prout inter eos poterunt concordare, quosciscumque aliquod huiusmodi viagium incipient, et ab hoc regno nostro ad patrias et alia loca predicta acquirenda et recuperanda se divertent, de tempore in tempus solvere, dare et supportare tenebuntur.

Et insuper cum inter cetera in prenotatis articulis expressa, concesserimus prefatis Hugoni, Thome Assshehurste, Johanni Gunsalus et ffrancisco, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet, heredes et assignati sui, unam navem, cuiuscumque portagii fuerit, cum omnimodis bonis, mercandis et mercimoniis de crescencia patriarum, Insularum, provinciarum, terrarum et locorum quorumcumque sepedictorum carcatam et onustam, in hoc regnum nostrum Anglie tociens quociens sibi placuerit, durante termino quinque annorum, absque aliquibus custumis, subsidiis et aliis deveriis nobis pro eisdem solvendis, conducere et transportare, ac libitum suum inde facere possint et valerent; Nos jam animadvertentes laudabilem intencionem prefatorum Hugonis, Thome Assshehurst, Johannis Gunsalus et ffrancisci, quam ad honorem et utilitatem huius regni nostrique complacenciam habent et gerunt, pensantesque eorum grandia custus et onera gravia, eciam pericula tam personarum quam bonorum et rerum suorum quorumcumque, in tam gravi, tempestuoso, periculoso longoque maris negocio que veresimile sunt passuri, ex habundanti gratia nostra concessimus, et licenciam dedimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, prefatis Hugoni, Thome Assshehurste, Johanni Gunsalus et ffrancisco, et eorum cuilibet, heredibus et assignatis suis, et eorum cuiuslibet, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet unam aliam navem, portagii centum et viginti doliorum, cum bonis, rebus, jocalibus, auro et argento, ceterisque mercan-

disis et mercimoniis, de crescencia patriarum, Insularum, provinciarum et aliorum locorum per ipsos sic imposterum noviter recuperandorum, carcatam et onustam, in hoc regnum, jurisdictiones et territoria nostra quecumque, tociens quociens sibi placuerit, durante termino quinque annorum a tempore recuperacionis Insularum et patriarum predictarum, proximo et immediate sequencium, conducere et transportare ibidemque discarcare, ac de bonis, rebus, mercandis, jocalibus, ceterisque premissis, libitum suum facere possint et valeant, et eorum heredes et assignati possint et valeant, et eorum quilibet possit et valeat, licite et impune, absque aliquibus custumis, subsidiis seu aliis denariis, nobis pro eisdem aut aliqua eorundem parcella nobis aliquo qualiter solvendis; Et absque aliquo impedimento, impetitione, contradiccione, molestacione seu gravamine quocumque nostri aut officiariorum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque.

Et ulterius cum inter cetera in literis nostris patentibus, quarum data est apud Westmonasterium dicto decimo nono die maii [*sic pro marcii*], anno regni nostri sextodecimo, contenta et specificata, certis consideracionibus [nos]<sup>1</sup> moventibus, concesserimus prefatis Johanni Gunsalus et Francisco, quod essent imperpetuum indigene et ligei nostri et heredum nostrorum, et in omnibus causis, querelis, rebus et materiis quibuscumque haberentur, pertractarentur, reputarentur et gubernarentur, tanquam veri et fideles ligei nostri infra regnum nostrum Anglie oriundi, et non aliter nec alio modo; Quodque iidem Johannes Gunsalus et Francisco et omnes liberi sui solverent aut solvi facerent, et eorum quilibet solveret aut solvi faceret, talia custumas, subsidia et alia deveria pro bonis, mercibus, mercandis et mercimoniis suis in regnum nostrum Anglie adducendis, vel extra idem regnum nostrum Anglie educendis, qualia alienigene nobis solvant, autolvere debent vel consueverunt; Et quod iidem Johannes Gunsalus et Francisco solverent, et eorum alter solveret, nobis et heredibus nostris tot et tanta custumas, subsidia et alia deveria pro bonis et mercandis suis prout alienigene nobisolvere et reddere tenerentur: Nos tamen, ob certas causas nos jam moventes, prefatos Johannem Gunsalus et Franciscum ad custumas et subsidia nobis pro eorum bonis, mercandis et mercimoniis sicuti alienigene solvenda nolentes, ut predictum est, onerari, set eis et eorum utrique gratiam facere uberiolem, de gratia nostra speciali dedimus et concessimus, ac licenciam damus et concedimus

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in the MS. but given in Rymer.



per presentes pro nobis et heredibus nostris prefatis Johanni Gunsalus et ffrancisco, quod ipsi et eorum alter, heredes sui aut heredes eorum alterius, talia custumas, subsidia et alia deveria pro bonis, mereibus, mercandisis et mercimoniis suis quibuscumque in regnum nostrum Anglie adducendisve extra idem regnum educendis, qualia alia (*sic*) ligei nostri infra regnum nostrum Anglie oriundi nobis solvant aut solvere deberent et consueverunt, dictis literis nostris in contrarium inde factis non obstantibus. Proviso semper quod nec predicti Johannes Gunsalus aut ffranciscus sub colore aut velamento huius nostri indulti seu privilegii aliorum bona sub eorum nominibus tanquam propria in regnum nostrum introducant, sub pena confiscacionis bonorum sic introductorum, et amissionis privilegii nostri predicti: eo quod expressa mencio de vero valore annuo premissorum aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos eisdem Hugoni Elyot, Thome Aysshehurste, Johanni Gunsalus et ffrancisco, ante hec tempora factis, in presentibus minime facta existit; aut aliquibus statutis, actibus sive ordinacionibus aut restriccionibus inde in contrarium factis, editis, ordinatis sive provisus aut aliquâ aliâ re, causâ vel materia quacumque in aliquo non obstantibus.

Et ulterius ex uberiori gratia nostra concessimus prefatis Hugoni, Thome Asshehurste, Johanni Gunsalus et ffrancisco, quod ipsi habeant presentes literas nostras in Cancellaria nostra absque aliquo fine seu feodo aut aliquibus finibus seu feodis pro eisdem literis nostris aut aliquâ parte eorundem (*sic*) aut pro magno sigillo nostro ad opus nostrum in hanaperio dicte Cancellarie nostre aliquiditer solvendis.

Et volumus et concedimus per presentes quod reverendisimus in Christo pater Willelmus, episcopus Londoniensis, Custos magni sigilli nostri, auctoritate presentis concessionis nostre, fieri faciat et sigillari tot et talia brevia sub magno sigillo nostro sigillando, Custodi sive clerico hanaperii nostri dirigenda, pro exoneratione dictorum finium et feodorum, quot et qualia in hac parte necessaria fuerint et requisita, absque aliquo alio waranto aut prosecutione penes nos in hac parte faciendis.

In cujus, etc.

Teste rege apud Westmonasterium ix die decembris.

Per ipsum Regem, et de data, etc.

From the Public Record Office, Patent Roll 18 Henry VII., Part II, Doc. 1502, No. 592, membranes 29-30; printed in

Rymer<sup>1</sup>, *Fædera*, etc., XIII, 37-42, London, 1712; *ibid.*, vol. V, pars IV, pp. 186-8 Hagæ Comitæ, 1741; and in Hazard, *op. cit.*, 11-19.

XXVA.

9 December, 1502.

OF LICENCE TO DISCOVER UNKNOWN LAND.

The king to all and singular to whom the present letters shall come, Greeting: Be it know to you and made manifest that we, for certain considerations us moving, by the advice of our Council, have granted and given licence, as by these presents, we grant and give licence for us and our heirs, as far as in us lies, to our well-beloved subjects Hugh Elyot and Thomas Asshehurste, merchants of our town of Bristol, and to our well-beloved John Gonzales and Francis Fernandez, Esquires, of the islands of the Azores, born under the dominion of the king of Portugal, and to any one of them whomsoever, and to the heirs, attorneys, factors or deputies of any one of them, and to them and to any one of them whomsoever, we grant full and free authority, faculty and power to sail and transport themselves to all parts, regions and territories of the eastern, western, southern, arctic and northern seas, under our banners and ensigns, with so many and so large and such ships or vessels as may be agreeable to them and may be necessary, of whatsoever burthen any ship or vessel may be, with masters, mates, mariners, pages and other men competent, requisite and necessary for the piloting, safe-conduct and defence of the aforesaid ships and vessels, at the cost and charges of the said Hugh and of the others aforesaid, and at such salaries, wages and stipends as they may agree upon among themselves, to find, recover, discover and search out any islands, countries, regions or provinces whatsoever of heathens and infidels in whatsoever part of the world placed, and to set up our banners and ensigns in any city, town, castle, island or mainland by them thus newly found, and to enter and seize the said cities, towns, castles, islands and mainlands for us and in our name, and as our vassals and governors, lieutenants and

<sup>1</sup> At a meeting of the *Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques* held on 8 June, 1892, the late M. Marcel stated that 27 vessels from La Rochelle and Brittany were on the Banks in the year 1502, and cited the *Fædera* of Rymer. M. Marcel before his death could not remember what basis he had had for that statement. Cf. *Bulletin de Geogr. hist. et descript.*, année 1892, p. 210.

deputies to occupy, possess and subdue these, the property, title, dignity and suzerainty of the same being always reserved to us. Provided always that they in no wise occupy themselves with nor enter the lands, countries, regions or provinces of heathens or infidels first discovered by the subjects of our very dear brother and cousin the king of Portugal, or by the subjects of any other princes soever, our friends and confederates, and in possession of which these same princes now find themselves. And furthermore whenever henceforth these islands, countries, lands and provinces shall be acquired, recovered and found by the aforesaid Hugh and the others named, then we will by these presents that all and singular, as well men as women, of this our realm, and the rest of our subjects wishing and desiring to visit these lands and islands thus newly found, and to inhabit the same, may and shall have power to go freely and in safety to the said countries, islands and places with their ships, men and servants and with all their goods and chattels, and to dwell in and inhabit the same under the protection and government of the said Hugh and of the others aforesaid, and to acquire and obtain the riches, fruits and profits of the lands, countries and places aforesaid.

Giving furthermore and granting to the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas, John and Francis and to any one of them, by the tenour of these presents, full power and authority to rule and govern all and singular the men, sailors, and other persons removing and making their way to the islands, countries, provinces, mainlands and places aforesaid for the aforesaid purpose, as well in the company of the said Hugh and of the others aforesaid, as in the company of others happening afterwards to betake themselves there, both on sea as well as in each of these countries, mainlands and places, after they have been found and recovered; and to make, set up, ordain and appoint laws, ordinances, statutes and proclamations for the good and peaceful rule and government of the said men, masters, sailors and other persons aforesaid, and also to issue proclamations, and to chastise and punish according to the laws and statutes set up by them in that region all and singular those whom they may find there hostile and rebellious, and disobedient to the laws, statutes and ordinances aforesaid and all those who shall commit and perpetrate theft, homicide or robbery, or who shall rape and violate any women of the islands or countries aforesaid against their will or otherwise.

And also we have granted to the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas,

John and Francis, their heirs and assigns, that when any islands, countries, mainlands, region or province shall be henceforth discovered by the said Hugh and the others aforesaid, then it shall not be lawful for any subject or subjects of ours, during the term of forty years next and immediately following, to visit with their ships or to make their way to the said towns, countries, islands, mainlands and places for the purpose of trading and obtaining goods, without our royal licence and that of the said Hugh and of the others aforesaid, their heirs and assigns, or to enter the same, or to send to the same to obtain any goods. And after the term of the said forty years, that none of our subjects shall presume to sail to or visit any mainland, island, country or place thus newly found by the same Hugh and Thomas and the others aforesaid, without our aforesaid licence and that of the said Hugh and of the others aforesaid, on pain of the loss and forfeiture of all the goods and merchandise, commodities and vessels whatsoever venturing to sail to these places thus newly discovered and to enter the same, namely: one half to be for us and the other half for the said Hugh and the others aforesaid and for their heirs.

And furthermore of our abundant grace we have granted and by these presents grant for us and our heirs, as far as in us lies, to the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas, John and Francis, and to any one of them whomsoever, their heirs and assigns, that they and any one of them may and can bring and transport and cause to be brought or transported merchandise, wares, gold and silver in bar, precious stones, and other goods whatsoever, being the produce of the countries, islands and places aforesaid by them thus to be recovered and found, as well in the said ships and vessels, as in other strange ships whatsoever, from the said countries, islands, mainlands and places into this our realm of England, to any port whatsoever or other place in the same, and these sell and distribute for their own profit and advantage, any statute, act, ordinance or provision made or passed thence to the contrary notwithstanding.

And we, bearing in mind most especially the heavy costs and charges which are necessary for the performance and execution of the above, wishing therefore to do special favour on that account to the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas and to the other persons mentioned, have granted, as by these presents we grant, to the same, their heirs and assigns, that they and any one of them whosoever, their heirs and assigns aforesaid, may, from time



to time during the period of five years from the date of the recovery and discovery of the islands and countries aforesaid next and immediately following, land in the port or place aforesaid merchandise, wares and other goods, loaded and freighted on one vessel alone, of so great tonnage whatsoever it be, which are to be brought and transported into this our realm of England, and these sell, expose and distribute at their pleasure from time to time on any voyage during the period of the said five years without in any way paying to us or to our heirs within our said realm of England, any customs, subsidies or other duties upon the same goods, merchandise and other things aforesaid contained and loaded in the said one vessel alone. Provided nevertheless that with regard to the customs, subsidies, pondages and other payments for the rest of the merchandise, wares and goods on board all the other vessels, true answers as is right be given to us in conformity with the practice hitherto observed in this our realm of England.

And furthermore we will and grant by these presents that any master, mate and sailor of any ship whatsoever visiting and sailing to any mainland, island, country, province and place aforesaid, may have, enjoy and receive of the goods and wares to be brought from the said islands, mainlands and countries into this our realm of England the following customs and subsidies, namely: any master may have, enjoy and receive in any voyage the customs and subsidies on four tons; and any mate or quartermaster the customs and subsidies on two tons; and any sailor the customs and subsidies on one ton, even though they be loaded and charged as his own goods, or as the goods of any other person whomsoever. (And this without any subsidies, customs, dues or duties being in any way paid or asked for the same tonnage within this our realm of England for our needs or those of our heirs.)

And should it happen that any merchant or merchants of this our realm should arrive at the said islands, countries and places under licence of our said subjects, or without their licence, for the purpose of obtaining merchandise or wares, and should make a business of bringing goods and wares from those parts into this our kingdom, then we will and grant by these presents to the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas, John and Francis, and to their heirs and assigns, that they, during the aforesaid period of forty years, may receive from any such merchant, after payment to us of the usual customs, subsidies and other moneys due to us in such case, the twentieth part of all such goods and merchan

dise to be brought and taken by the same from the said islands, countries and places into this our realm of England on any voyage during the said period of forty years; this twentieth part to be obtained and taken in the port in which it shall happen that the said goods are unloaded and discharged. Provided always that the aforesaid Hugh and the others aforesaid, their heirs and assigns, and not any other persons whosoever are henceforward the factors and attorneys in the said islands, mainlands and countries for any such merchants and other persons repairing there for the aforesaid cause during the said period of forty years in and for the trade carried on there by them. Provided also that no vessel loaded and freighted with goods and merchandise from the said regions thus newly found, after it has been brought into any port of this our kingdom, shall be discharged of these goods and merchandise except in the presence of the aforesaid Hugh and of the others aforesaid, or of their heirs or deputies assigned for this purpose, on pain of the forfeiture of the said goods and merchandise, of which one half shall be for us and the other half be given to the aforesaid Hugh and the others beforenamed and to their heirs.

And if in future any strangers or other persons should presume against the wish of the said Hugh and of the others beforenamed to sail to those parts for the purpose of enriching themselves, and to enter the same by violence, and there to insult the said Hugh and the others aforesaid or their heirs, and to expel and subdue them or otherwise to disturb them, then it is our wish and by the tenour of these presents we give and grant power to our said subjects to expel, resist and with all their force carry on and wage war, as well by land as by sea and on fresh water, against these strangers, even though they be subjects and vassals of any prince in league and friendship with us, and to arrest, bind and imprison them, there to remain until they shall have made fine and redemption to our said subjects, or otherwise to chastise and punish them according to the sober discretion of our said subjects and of their heirs.

And also by the tenour of these presents we give and grant full power to our aforesaid subjects and to the other persons aforesaid to make, constitute, nominate and appoint under them, by their letters patent to be sealed with their seals, any captains, lieutenants and deputies whomsoever in each of the states, cities, towns and places of the said islands, provinces, countries and places aforesaid, for the administration and government of all and singular the persons in those parts, under the

rule and authority of our said subjects there dwelling, and for the due execution and administration of justice in the same, according to the tenour and effect of the ordinances, statutes and proclamations aforesaid.

And furthermore we have granted and by these presents grant to the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas, John and Francis, for the term of their lives and of the life of any one of them, the office of Admiral at sea in any of the places, countries and provinces whatsoever by them thus newly discovered, and henceforth to be found and recovered; and we make, constitute, ordain and appoint by these presents the said Hugh, Thomas, John and Francis and any one of them, conjointly and separately, our Admirals in the same parts, giving and granting them and any one of them by the tenour of these presents full power and authority to do, exercise and carry out all and singular the things which pertain to the office of Admiral, according to the law and the naval custom practised in this our realm of England.

And further after the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas, John and Francis shall thus have found, acquired and subdued any mainlands, islands, countries and provinces, cities, castles, states and towns by our assistance, then it is our wish and by these presents we give power to them, their heirs and assigns, to have, hold and possess for themselves, their heirs and assigns, all and singular such and so great mainlands, islands, countries, provinces, castles, cities, fortresses, states and towns, as and as great as they and their agents, lieutenants and servants are able to inhabit, take possession of, hold and maintain; the said lands, islands and places aforesaid to be had and held by them, their heirs and assigns, and by any one of them, of us and of our heirs in perpetuity by fidelity alone, without any fee or anything else being rendered or made to us or to our heirs for the same, always excepting the dignity, dominion, regality, jurisdiction and suzerainty of the same, wholly reserved to us.

And furthermore we have granted to the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas, John and Francis that they, their heirs and assigns aforesaid, may enjoy, hold and possess the said mainlands, islands and countries thus conceded to them and to their heirs aforesaid as set forth above, after these have been discovered and recovered and when they are in full possession of the same, freely, quietly, peaceably, without any impediment of any sort from us or our heirs whomsoever. And that none of our subjects shall in any way expel them or any one of them from and



out of their possession and title to and in the said mainlands, islands and countries in any way whatsoever against their will; promising in good faith and on the word of a king that we shall hold ratified, acceptable and stable all and whatsoever the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas, John and Francis, and any one of them whosoever, by way of completing the premises, shall do or shall procure to be done herein. And that neither we nor our heirs at any time in the future shall ever disturb, hinder or molest them or any one of them or their heirs and assigns in their right, title and possession, nor shall we permit this to be done, nor cause it to be done by others our subjects or others whomsoever, as far as in us lies; nor shall we in any way remove them, their heirs and assigns from the said mainlands, countries, provinces and places for any cause afterwards arising or happening, nor shall we cause them to be removed or expelled by our subjects. Provided always that should it happen that the said Hugh, Thomas, John and Francis or any one of them, their heirs or assigns, or any one of these find, search out or recover in the future any places, islands, lands, regions, provinces and countries which heretofore have not been found, discovered, searched out and recovered by others our subjects or by any of their heirs and assigns having authority from us in that region by other letters patent of ours under our Great Seal, then it is our wish and by these presents we grant for us and our heirs to the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas, John and Francis, and to any one of them, their heirs and assigns, that they and any one of them whosoever may and shall have power to enter, hold, administer and peaceably and securely to inhabit and cause to be inhabited and to occupy at their free will the aforesaid islands, countries, provinces and other places with their ships, men, servants and chattels whatsoever, without hindrance or impediment from us or our heirs or from any others our lieges whomsoever. And that none of our other subjects shall dare to sail to or frequent any island, land, region, country and province or place thus newly found by the same Hugh, Thomas, John and Francis, or to enter the same for the purpose of acquiring or securing the fruits, wares and merchandise produced in the same, without obtaining our royal licence and the special one of the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas, John and Francis, on pain of the loss and forfeiture of all the goods, merchandise, commodities and ships whatsoever venturing to sail to and enter these places thus newly found by the same, namely: one half of these to be



for us and the other half for the said Hugh, Thomas, John and Francis, their heirs and assigns.

And although by other letters patent of ours dated the nineteenth day of the month of May [*sic pro* March] in the sixteenth year of our reign [1501]<sup>1</sup>, we have given and granted to our well-beloved Richard Warde, John Thomas and John Fernandez, and to the aforesaid Hugh Eliot, Thomas Asshehurst, John Gonzales and Francis Fernandez, their heirs, attorneys, factors or deputies, and to any one of them whomsoever, power and authority to sail to all parts, regions and boundaries of the sea in order to find and recover and discover the islands, countries and provinces mentioned, and to pursue and carry out each of the other things contained and specified in the same letters according to the tenour and effect thereof; nevertheless we are unwilling that the same Richard Warde, John Thomas, and John Fernandez or any one of them, their heirs or assigns, should in any way enter, or that any one of them should enter or go near any of the countries, islands, lands, places or provinces found, recovered or discovered anew in the future under the authority and licence of these our present letters, unless they shall have first obtained leave from the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas Asshehurst, John Gonzales and Francis.

And in case the said Richard Warde, John Thomas and John Fernandez, or any one of them, or their heirs or assigns, may wish, determine and decide to make their way to these islands, countries, regions and other places aforesaid with their ships and goods in order to acquire wares in the said islands, countries and other places aforesaid, or to send and depute thither any person or persons, that they and any one of them whosoever shall be obliged from time to time to pay, furnish and sustain all and every the costs and charges to be arranged at each voyage with the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas Asshehurst, John Gonzales and Francis, namely: any one of them according to the amount of his share, as they may agree among themselves, as often as they shall undertake any voyage of this kind and make their way from this our realm to the countries and other places to be acquired and recovered as aforesaid. And furthermore since among the other things set out in the above-mentioned articles, we have granted to the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas Asshehurst, John Gonzales and Francis, that they and any one of them whosoever, their heirs and assigns, can and may

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 77 note, and No. XXA. *supra*, p. 50.

conduct and transport into this our realm of England, as often as they please, during a period of five years, one vessel, of whatsoever burthen she be, loaded and freighted with all kinds of goods, merchandise and wares produced in the countries, islands, provinces, lands and places whatsoever aforesaid, without paying to us any customs, subsidies and other dues for the same, and freely dispose thereof; we now bearing in mind the praiseworthy intention which the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas Asshehurst, John Gonzales and Francis entertain and practise to the honour and utility and contentment of this our realm, and considering their great costs and heavy charges, as well as the dangers both to their persons as to their goods and chattels whatsoever, which to all appearances they are about to incur in such a difficult, tempestuous, dangerous and distant maritime undertaking, of our abundant grace, have granted and given licence for us and our heirs to the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas Asshehurst, John Gonzales and Francis, and to any one of them whomsoever, their heirs and assigns, and to any one of these whomsoever, that they and any one of them whosoever may and can conduct and transport into this our kingdom, jurisdictions and territories, as often as it may please them, a second vessel of one hundred and twenty tons burthen, loaded and freighted with goods, commodities, jewels, gold and silver and other wares and merchandise produced in the countries, islands, provinces and other places by them thus henceforth newly to be recovered, during a period of five years from the date of the recovery of the islands and countries aforesaid next and immediately following, and there discharge her, and deal as they wish with the goods, commodities, merchandise, jewels and other things above stated, and the same shall be permitted and allowed to their heirs and assigns, and to any one of them whomsoever, freely and securely, without in any way paying to us any customs, subsidies or other dues for the same or any portion of the same. And this without any impediment, exaction, objection, annoyance or hindrance whatsoever from us or from our officers or servants whomsoever.

And furthermore since among the other things contained and set forth in our letters patent dated at Westminster on the said nineteenth of May [*i.e.* March], in the sixteenth year of our reign [1501], we, for certain considerations us moving, have granted to the aforesaid John Gonzales and Francis, that they should be for ever subjects and lieges of us and of our heirs, and in all lawsuits, quarrels, matters and affairs whatsoever should be held, considered, treated and governed as our true

and faithful lieges born within this our realm of England, and not otherwise nor in any other manner; and that the same John Gonzales and Francis and all their children should pay or cause to be paid, and any one of them whosoever should pay or cause to be paid such customs, taxes and other dues for their goods, wares, merchandise and commodities brought into this our realm of England or carried out of this our said realm of England, as foreigners pay or are bound or accustomed to pay to us; and that the said John Gonzales and Francis should pay and either of them should pay to us and our heirs as many and as large customs, subsidies and other dues for their goods and merchandise as foreigners are bound to pay and deliver to us. We therefore for certain reasons us now moving, being unwilling that the aforesaid John Gonzales and Francis should be charged the customs and subsidies payable to us as foreigners for their goods, merchandise and wares as above stated, but wishing to shew them and each of them a further favour, of our special grace have given and granted and by these presents give and grant licence for us and our heirs to the aforesaid John Gonzales and Francis, that they and either of them, their heirs or the heirs of either of them pay such customs, subsidies and other dues for their goods, wares, merchandise and commodities whatsoever to be brought into this our realm of England or to be taken out of the same realm, as pay or are bound and accustomed to pay others our lieges born within our realm of England, our said letters patent made thence to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided always that the aforesaid John Gonzales and Francis under colour or cover of this concession or privilege of ours shall not introduce into our kingdom under their own names the goods of others as their own goods, on pain of the confiscation of the goods so introduced and of the loss of our aforesaid privilege; although express mention of the true annual value of the above or of the other gifts or concessions made by us before this time to the said Hugh Elyot, Thomas Aysshehurst, John Gonzales and Francis is in no wise set out in these presents, or any statutes, acts or ordinances or restrictions made, published, ordained or provided thence to the contrary, or any other circumstance, cause or matter whatsoever in any way notwithstanding.

And again of our further favour we have granted to the aforesaid Hugh, Thomas Assshehurst, John Gonzales and Francis our present letters patent in our Chancery without payment to us of any fine or fee or of any fines or fees for the same or

any part thereof or for our Great Seal in any way at the Exchequer of our said Chancery.

And we will and grant by these presents that the most Reverend father in God, William, bishop of London, custodian of our Great Seal, by the authority of this our present grant, shall cause to be prepared and sealed as many and such briefs, sealed with our Great Seal, and directed to the custodian or clerk of our Exchequer, for the discharge of the said fines and fees as and such as may be necessary and requisite for the same, without any other warrant or attendance being made before us in this matter.

In witness whereof, etc.

Witness ourself at Westminster on the ninth of December.

By the King himself and at the date, etc.

## XXVI.

6 December, 1503.

### APPROPRIATION FOR THE PENSION GRANTED TO FERNANDEZ AND GONZALES.

Henry, by the grace of God King of England and of ffraunce, and lord of Irland, To the Tresourer and Chambrelains of oure Eschequier, greting: Where as We by our letters undre oure prive seal bering date at oure manour of Langley the xxvi<sup>th</sup> day of septembre, the xviii<sup>th</sup> yere of oure Reigne [1502], gaf and graunted unto oure trusty and welbeloved subgiettes, ffraunceys ffernandus and John Guidisalvus, squiers, in consideration of the true service which they have doon unto us to oure singler pleasure as Capitaignes into the newe founde lande, unto eithre of them ten poundes yerely during oure pleasure to be had and perceyved of the Revenues of oure Custumes comyng and growing within oure poort of Bristowe, by the handes of the customers there that now be and hereafter shalbe, at the festes of Estre and Michaelmes, by even porcions, And forasmoche as Richard Meryk and Arthure Kemys, late Customers in oure said poort of Bristowe, have paide unto the said ffraunceys ffernandus and John Guidisalvus twenty poundes for oon hool yere ended at the fest of Saint Michell tharchaungell last past [29 Sept., 1503], for the which they have no maner of discharge to be alleged at their accomptes before the Barons of oure Eschequier, Wherefore we wol that ye in due and sufficient



fourme doo to be levied for thesaid ffraunceys ffernandus and John Guidisalvus a taille or tailles conteignyng the said summe of xx*li*. upon Richard Meryk and Arthure Kemys, late Cus-tumers in oure said poort, of the revenues of thesame, And fur-thermore we wol that ye fromhensforth from tyme to tyme and yere to yere, doo to be levied severall tailles conteignyng thesaid summe of xx*li*. upon the Customers of oure said poort that nowe be and hereafter shallbe, unto the tyme ye shall have from us otherwise in commaundement by writing, And thesaid taille or tailles in due and sufficient fourme levied upon thesaid Cus-tumers at the festes beforesaid, we wol that ye delyvere unto thesaid ffraunceys ffernandus and John Guidisalvus, or unto the bringer herof in their names, to be taken of oure gyfte by way of rewarde without preste or eny othre maner of charge to be set upon them or eny of them for thesame, And thies oure letters shalbe youre sufficient warrant in that behalf. Yeven undre oure prive Seal at oure Citie of London the vi<sup>th</sup> day of Decembre, the xix<sup>th</sup> yere of oure Reigne [1503].

R. BOLMAN.

From the Public Record Office, Exchequer of Receipt, War-rants for Issue, No. 84, No. I; printed in HARRISSE, *John Cabot*, etc., 397-8.

## XXVII.

17 September, 1506.

### GRANT AND CONFIRMATION TO VASCO ANNES CORTE REAL OF THE LETTERS PATENT TO GASPAR CORTE REAL.

A Vaasqueanes Corte Reall doaçam e confirmaçam da doa-gam que foy feita a Gaspar Corte Reall, seu Irmaao, das terras que descubrio com suas limitacoes e declaracoes nella conteu-das.

Dom Manuell, etc. A quantos esta nossa carta de confir-macam & doaçam virem, fazemos saber, que por parte de Vas-queanes Corte Reall, de nosso conselho & veador de nossa casa, nos foy apresentado huua nossa carta de doaçam, per nos asin-ada & asseelada de nosso sello do chumbo, que fezemos a Gas-par Corte Reall, fidalgo da nossa casa, seu irmão, das terras que elle descubrio, da quall ho theor tall he: Dom Manuell, per graça de Deus, Rey de Purtugall & dos Algarves, daquem & dallem mar em Africa, Senhor de Guinee, & da conquista,

navegação & commercio d'Etiofia, Arabia, Persia & da Yndia, a quantos esta nossa carta de doaçam virem, fazemos saber, que por quanto Gaspar Corte Reall [etc., as in No. XVII, p. 32].

.....

Pidimdonos ho dicto Vaasqueanes Corte Reall por merçe, que por a dicta doaçam vir e traspassar a elle per fallecimento do dicto seu irmão, segundo forma della, lhe mandassemos dar nossa carta de confirmaçam em forma, & visto por nos seu requerimento, & aveindo respecto & lembrança como ho dicto Gaspar Corte Reall, seu irmão, foy o primeiro descubridor das dictas terras a sua propria custa & despesa, como muito trabalho & risco de sua pessoa, & como finalmente com muitos criados & homes, que consigo levava, nisso acabou; & assi mesmo como depois Miguell Corte Reall, seu irmão, que foy nosso porteiro moor, yndo em busca do dicto seu irmão com navios & gente, que a sua propria custa & despesa armou, no que gastou muito de sua fazemda, por buscar & achar & remir o dicto seu irmaao, & assi por nos servir no descubrimento das dictas terras, em que trabalhou quamto possivell foy, no que outrosi, apos ho dicto seu hirmão, falleceo & acabou, & com elle muytos criados de seu pai & seus & do dicto Vasqueanes que consigo levava; & esguardamdo isso mesmo como em todo este feito ho dicto Vaasqueanes com sua propia fazemda, criados & homes seus sempre ajudou ahos dictos seus irmãos & ainda oje em dia de sua fazemda paga & satisfaz as dividas & carregos & obrigações que por esta cassusa hos dictos seus hirmãos leixaram, pollos quaaes respeito, dividamente he razam que o louvor & merecimento dos serviços em que hos dictos seus irmãos suas vidas acabaram, fique perpetuado no dicto Vaasqueanes Corte Reall & nos que delle descenderem, nos, per esta presente carta declaramos por soccesor da dicta nossa doaçam aho dicto Vaasqueanes Corte Reall & a todos seus herdeiros & soccessores, segundo forma da dicta doaçam, da quall em todo & por todo hussara, & assi seus soccessores, como ho fizeram os dictos Gaspar Corte Reall em sua vida, & per seu fallecimento seus filhos, herdeiros & soccessores, a que por linha dereicta a dicta doaçam devera vir, & assi & como na dicta doaçam lie comtendo & declarado, & com totalas clausullas em ella comtheudas, assi como se propriamente no principio fora feita ao dicto Vaasqueanes Corte Reall. E queremos que agora & em todo tempo se regulle & emtemda nelle sem embargo de quaaesquer lex & hordenações, dereytos, custume, opiniones, facanhas, capitollos

de cortes, ley mentall & qualquer outra coussa que em contraíro disso seia ou possa seer, em quallquer maneira; por que toda cassamos, anulamos & avemos por nenhuua & de nihũ vigor & forga. E queremos que contra a dicta doaçam feita ao dicto Gaspar Corte Reall, & contra esta nossa carta de confirmaçam & declaraçam, & contra o todo conteudo nella, nom ajam lugar em todo nem em parte, & soprimos aqui de nosso reall & absoluto poder todo & quallquer defeito & de dereicto que seia neçesareo pera mayor firmidam de todo o que dicto he, posto que possa ser clausola tall de que se devera fazer expressa mençam. E por segurança do dicto Vaasqueanes Corte Reall & de todos seus herdeiros & soccessores, a que esta doaçam dereictamente ouver de vir, lhe mandamos dar esta nosa carta per nos asinada & assellada do nosso seello de chumbo, a quall mandamos que em todo se cumpra & guarde, como em ella he conteudo; & queremos & nos praz que por esta mesma carta, sem mais outra auctoridade de justiga, elle dicto Vaasqueanes Corte Reall mande tomar a posse reall, auctuall, de toda a dicta terra & cousas na dicta doaçam conteudas, & assi hos que delle decemderem, porque asi he nosa mercee. Dada em a cidade de Coimbra, a desesete dias do mes de septeembro. Andre Piriz a fez, anno do nascimento de nosso Senhor Jhu X<sup>o</sup> de mill & quinhentos e seis.

From the Archivo nacional da Torre do Tombo, Livro quinto dos Misticos fols. 46-7: also in liv. XXXV of D. João III, fols. 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>, and in liv. XLIX. of same, fol. 243<sup>v</sup>. Printed in Harri-  
risse, *Les Corte-Real*, 220-2; *Archivo dos Açores*, IV, 499-501; and in *Alguns Documentos*, etc., 150-3.

## XXVIIA.

GRANT AND CONFIRMATION TO VASCO ANNES CORTE REAL OF THE  
CONCESSION MADE TO HIS BROTHER GASPAR CORTE REAL OF  
THE LANDS DISCOVERED BY HIM, WITH THE LIMITATIONS  
AND DECLARATIONS THEREIN SET FORTH.

King Emmanuel, &c. To as many as shall see this confir-  
mation and grant of ours we make known, that there was pre-  
sented to us by Vasco Annes Corte Real, one of our Council and  
the Comptroller of our Household, a grant of ours signed by us  
and sealed with our leaden seal, which we made to his brother  
Gaspar Corte Real, a nobleman of our court, of the lands dis-

covered by him, the tenour of which is as follows: King Emmanuel, by the grace of God, king of Portugal and of the Algarves, on this and that side of the ocean in Africa, lord of Guinea, and of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India, to as many as shall see this grant of ours, we make known [etc., as in No. XVII<sup>A</sup>, p. 35].

Since through the death of his said brother the said grant, according to the tenour thereof, comes and passes to him, the said Vasco Annes Corte Real, he asks us as a favour to order our letters of confirmation to be given to him in due form, and in view of his request, and considering and remembering how his brother, the said Gaspar Corte Reall, was the first to discover the said lands, at his own expense, and at the expenditure of much labour and at the risk of his life; how finally he perished therein with many servants and men whom he had taken with him; and likewise how afterwards his brother Michael Corte Real, who was our major-domo, on searching for his said brother with men and ships, fitted out at his own expense, wherein he expended much of his patrimony in order to look for, find and recover his said brother, and also in order to serve us in the discovery of the said lands, at which he laboured as far as was possible, likewise died after his said brother, and lost his life therein, and with him many of his father's, his own and the said Vasco Annes's servants, whom he had with him; and we bearing this in mind and also how in all this the said Vasco Annes always assisted his said brothers with his own property, servants and men, and even to this day pays and liquidates with his money the debts, charges and obligations left behind on account of this by his said brothers; for which reasons it is right and proper that the reward and praise for the services in which his said brothers lost their lives, should be perpetuated in the said Vasco Annes Corte Real and in his descendants: We by these present letters patent assign the succession of our said grant to the said Vasco Annes Corte Real and to all his heirs and successors, according to the tenour of the said grant, of which he and his successors shall everywhere make as complete use as did the said Gaspar Corte Real during his life, and on his death, his sons, heirs and successors to whom by direct descent the said grant ought to come, and in the form and manner stated and declared in the said grant, and with all the clauses therein contained, in such a manner as if it had been really drawn up for the said Vasco Annes Corte Real in the first instance. And we desire that, both now and at all times, it be



so followed and construed in spite of any law, ordinances, rights, custom, pretentions, debated questions, decrees of the Three Estates and mental law and anything else whatsoever that might or could run in any way to the contrary; for we revoke, annul and declare all such invalid and without force and effect. And we desire that there be no opposition in whole or in part to the said grant made to the said Gaspar Corte Real, or to these letters of confirmation and declaration, or to the whole contents thereof; and of our royal and absolute power, we here supply any and every defect and authority that may be necessary for the greater stability of all the above, notwithstanding there be a clause of which special mention should be made. And for the security of the said Vasco Annes Corte Real and of all his heirs and successors, to whom this grant should of right come, we order these letters patent of ours, signed by us and sealed with our leaden seal, to be given, which we direct to be carried out in full and to be fulfilled according to the tenour thereof. And we desire and it is our pleasure, that in virtue of these letters patent, without further judicial authority, the said Vasco Annes Corte Real and his descendants order real and actual possession to be taken of all the said land and matters set forth in the said grant; for such is our pleasure. Given in the city of Coimbra on 17 September. Andrew Piriz made this in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1506.

## XXVIII.

14 October, 1506.

## A TAX LAID ON NEWFOUNDLAND COD IN PORTUGAL.

Trelado de hũa Carta del Rey, nosso Senhor, açerqua da Dizima dos bacalhaos.

Diego Brandã, Nos el Rey vos enviamos muyto saudar: Nos soubemos agora como nos portos do mar dessa comarca dantre Doutro (*sic*) & Minho, ou em algũs delles dada a posse das dizimas do pescado que vem das pescarias da Terra Nova, aquelles que tem de nos as dizimas dos pescados, & isto per algũas sentenças que forã dadas pellos Juizes dos dreitos reacs em favor dos que tem as ditas dizimas. E por que esta cousa releva muyto a nosso serviço, & nã ha de passar assi livremente, Vos mandamos, que logo que esta pòs for dada, saybaees os logares em que assi he dada a dita posse, e aquelles que

achardes que a tem, nã leixees della usar, & a day a posse a nossos offiçiaes pera nos arrecadarẽ dizimas, até neste caso se dar final despacho, per homde & como deve, & nã se dara a posse a nenhũa pessoa, salvo per sentença que seja dada em a nossa corte, & asinada do nosso proprio sinal, e nã em outra maneira. E esto da dita posse fazei assi nos logares em que ja estiver algũs como naqueles em que aimda dãda não for, em todos os portos do mar dessa comarqua day este recado & o provede como dito he. E fazendo o com grande diligenciã porque assi compre muito a noso servirço (*sic*). Escrita em Leiria a xiiii dias doutubro. Antonio Carneiro, de quinhentos & seis años.

Trelladada per Diego Pinto regebedor.

From the Archivo nacional da Torre do Tombo at Lisbon, register of the Customs at Oporto, entitled *Livro dos Registos del Rei noso sñor, das cartas & alvaras, mandados & outras cartas que o dito Sñor manda a esta Alfandega*, fol. 46.

## XXVIII.A.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM OUR LORD THE KING IN REGARD TO THE  
TITHE ON CODFISH.

Diogo Brandã, We, the king, send you many greetings:

We have learned at this time how in the sea-ports of that district between the Douro and Minha,<sup>1</sup> or in some of them, a grant of possession was made of the tithes on the fish that come from the fisheries of Newfoundland to those who hold fishing-tithes from us, and this by virtue of some verdicts given by the Judges of the royal Customs in favour of those who hold the said tithes. And since this is a matter of great importance to our service and must not thus pass without control, We order you, as soon as this reaches you, to find out the towns in which the said possession has been thus granted, and not to allow those who hold it to make use thereof; and you are to give possession to our officers, in order that they may collect tithes in our behalf until a final decision has been reached in this case in the proper place and manner. And possession shall not be granted to any one, except by verdict given in our court and signed with our sign-manual and not in any other manner. And into this said

<sup>1</sup> Of which the chief port is Vianna. Cf. *Memorias economicas da Academia das sciencias de Lisboa*, tomo IV., 338. Lisboa, 1812.

matter of possession you are to inquire as well in the towns in which some of these exist, as in those in which none has been granted; you are to give an account thereof in all the sea-ports of that district and to provide therefor as already stated. And show great care in this because it is most important for our service. Written in Leiria on 15 October. Antonio Carneiro, 1506. Copied by Diogo Pinto, collector.

## XXIX.

1506.

## VOYAGE OF PETER DE BARCELLOS AND JOHN FERNANDEZ.

. . . Respondo eu, Pedro de Barcellos, a este requerimento em caso que não era necessario agradecer, he digo que as terras e biscoitos hum Rodrigo Chamorro, meu antecessor, ouve as ditas terras e biscoitos juntamente por carta de dada d'Affonso do Amarall<sup>1</sup>, ouvidor que foi em esta ilha com carregio de capitem; entam que as ditas terras socederõ a mim, Pedro de Barcellos, do dito Rodrigo Chamorro; eu as tornei aver por carta de nova reformação<sup>2</sup> dos almoxarifes, as terras e biscoitos todo juntamente; nas quaes terras eu fiz em ellas muitas roças he bemfeitorias, tendo terras aproveitadas que bem podiam levar xiiij ou xb moyos de pam, em sementeira; estando asi em posse d'ellas ho dito tempo, ouve hum mandado delrrey nosso, nosso senhor, para hir a descobrir, eu e hum Johã Fernandes, llavrador, no quall descobrimento andamos bons tres anos, e cando tornei a dita ilha, achei ha minha jente fora das ditas terras, e achei em posse dellas hũs filhos de Johã Velladam<sup>3</sup>, enlleandoas e trespassandoas em outras muitas pessoas," etc.

From an application in the Archives at Ponta Delgada, Azores, fol. 9: printed in the *Archivo dos Açores*, XII, 369, with a facsimile.

<sup>1</sup> This document dated 21 August, 1486, was confirmed on 18 June, 1488. Cf. *Archivo dos Açores*, XII, 369, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> This was first issued on 19 October, 1490, and renewed on 14 April, 1495. Cf. *ibid.*, 370.

<sup>3</sup> The first grant to them of 30 January, 1495, was renewed on 14 April, 1502. *ibid.*, 371.

XXIXA.

...To this application, I, Peter de Barcellos, in case it be not necessary to approve thereof, make reply and say that my ancestor, a Rodrigo Chamarro, held the said lands and biscuits jointly, by a grant from Alfonso do Amarall, formerly auditor in this island with the commission of captain: that next, the said lands passed from the said Rodrigo Chamarro to me, Peter de Barcellos. I received again the lands and biscuits jointly by a fresh grant of discharge from the receiver of the king's customs, on which lands I made many clearings and betterments, possessing cultivated lands which could easily produce from corn-fields 14 to 15 *moios*<sup>1</sup> of bread. Being thus at the said date in possession of these, I received a command from the king, our master, to go on a voyage of discovery, I and a John Fernandes, proprietor, on which discovery we were absent three good years; and when I returned to the said island, I found my people driven from the said lands, and some sons of John Velladam in possession thereof, who were conveying and transferring them to many other people, etc.

XXX.

1509.

AN ANONYMOUS ACCOUNT OF CABOT'S VOYAGE AND OF THE  
ARRIVAL OF SAVAGES FROM NEWFOUNDLAND.

*Cronicon regum Anglie et Series Maiorum et vicecomitum  
Civitatis London ab anno primo Henrici tertii ad annum  
primum Henrici octavi, etc.*

1497<sup>2</sup>, William Purchas, {Bartholemew Reed} Anno xiiij<sup>o</sup>.  
mercet. {Thomas Wyndoute}

.....

This yere the kyng, at the besy request and supplicacion of a Straunger venisian, which by a caart made hym self expert in knowyng of the world, caused the kyng to manne a ship w<sup>t</sup> vytaill and other necessities, for to seche an Iland wheryn the said straunger surmysed to be grete comodities, w<sup>t</sup> which ship by the kynges grace so rygged went iij or iiij moo owte of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 60, *supra*, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> This year began apparently on 15 September, 1497, and ended on 14 September, 1498. Cf. C. L. Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, note, 327-30. The regnal year began on 22 August.



Bristowe, the said straunger beyng Conditor of the said flete, wheryn dyvers merchauntes aswell of London as Bristow aventured goodes and sleight merchaundises, which departed from the west cuntrey in the begynnyng of somer, but to this present moneth came nevyr knowlege of their exployt.

.....

Sir John Shaa,	{ Sir Laurence Aylmer } { Henry Hede }	Anno xvij <sup>o</sup> .
aurifaber.		

*III men were brought from the newe Ilond.*

This yere<sup>1</sup> three men were brought out of an Ilond founde by merchauntes of Bristow forre beyonde Ireland, the which were clothed in Beestes skynnes and ete raw fflessh, and rude in their demeanure as Beestes.

From the British Museum, MS. Cotton, Vitellius A XVI, fols. 168<sup>v</sup>, 173, 183<sup>v</sup> and 204; printed in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April 25, 1860*, 37, Boston, 1860; the same *Proceedings for October 21, 1865*, 22, Cambridge, 1866; but better in the *Proceedings of the meeting at Boston on 21 October, 1881*, p. 440, Worcester, 1881; HARRISSE, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 316; TARDUCCI op. cit., 347; JOHN FISKE, *The Discovery of America*, II, 5, note I, Boston, 1893 (from HARRISSE); WEARE, op. cit., 164-5; BEAZLEY, op. cit., 98-9; WINSHIP, op. cit., 47; and C. L. KINGSFORD, *Chronicles of London*, 224 and 258, London, 1905.

XXXI.

REWARD FOR A VOYAGE TO THE NORTH.

7 June, 1509.

Carta de privilegio a Diogo de Barcellos, filho de Pero de Barcellos<sup>2</sup>.

Dom Manuell, etc., a quantos esta nosa carta virem [fazemos saber]<sup>3</sup>, que avendo nos respeito aos servigos que temos recebidos de Pero de Barcelos, ja finado, morador que foy [na]<sup>3</sup> nosa ilha Terceira, narmaçam<sup>4</sup> e descubrimento da parte de

<sup>1</sup> 15 September, 1501, to 14 September, 1502.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. *Archivo dos Açores*, XII, 366, and *supra* pp. 98-99.

<sup>3</sup> These words are omitted in the original.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. HARRISSE, *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, 41, note 3.

norte, e querendo por ello fazer graça e merçe a Dieguo de Barcelos, morador na dita Ilha, seu filho, temos por bem e o tomamos por noso vasallo, e queremos que daquy em diamte seja privilegiado, escusado e gardado, que nam pague, nem sirva em nenhuõs preitos, fintas, talhas, pididos, serviços, emprestidos, nem outros nenhuõs encargos que pelo concelho ou lugar onde morar forem lamcados per quall quer guisa que seja, nem o costrangam nem mandem costranger que va com presos nem com dinheiros, nem com nenhuõs caregos, nem seja titor nem curador de nenhuãas pessoas que sejam, salvo se as teturias forem lidimas, nem aja officio de concelho comtra sua vomtade; outro sy mandamos e defemdemos que nom seja nenhuũ tam ousado, de quall quer estado e comdicam que seja, que lhe pousem em suas casas de morada, adegas, nem cavalariças, nem lhe tomem delas seu pam e vinho, roupa, palha, ceveda, lenha, galinhas, gados, nem bestas de sella nem dalbarda, nem bois, caros, nem caretas, nem nenhuõs navios que tenha, nem outra cousa de seu comtra sua vomtade. E porem mandamos etc.<sup>1</sup>, em forma. Dada em a nosa cidade d'Evora aos bij dias do mes de junho. Afonso Mexia a fez, ano de b<sup>e</sup> e biiij annos; e deste privilegio goçara e usara o dito Dieguo de Barcelos somente e outro nenhuũ seu nam.

From the Torre do Tombo, Chancel. de Dom Manuel, liv. XXXVI, fol. 21: printed in Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte II<sup>a</sup>, 136-7. Lisboa, 1900.

### XXXIA.

PRIVILEGE GRANTED TO DIOGO DE BARCELLOS, SON OF PETER DE BARCELLOS.

King Emmanuel, &c. To as many as shall see this grant of ours [we make known], that in consideration of the services we have received from Peter de Barcellos, formerly an inhabitant of our island of Terceira, now deceased, in the expedition sent to discover in the northern parts; and being desirous on this account to show kindness and favour to his son, Diogo de Barcellos, dwelling on the said island, we are pleased to accept him

<sup>1</sup> Vid. No. XVIII, p. 38.

as our vassal; and it is our wish that henceforth he be freed, excused and protected from payment or service in any law-suits, taxes, dues, tributes, obligations, loans or other charges imposed in any way whatsoever by the council or town wherein he dwells, nor shall they force or order him to be forced to bring prisoners or money or any imposts, or to be guardian or trustee of any persons whatsoever, except the guardianship be legitimate, nor to be councillor against his will. Furthermore we order and decree that no one, of whatsoever estate and condition, be so bold as to lodge in his dwelling-house, cellars or stables, nor therefrom to take his bread and wine, clothing, straw, barley, wood, hens, cattle, or saddle or pack animals, nor his oxen, waggons, and carts, nor any ships belonging to him, nor anything else of his against his will. And furthermore we order, etc.<sup>1</sup> Given in our city of Evora on 7 June. Alfonso Mexia made this in the year 1509. And the said Diogo de Barcellos only and not any other member of his family is to enjoy and use this privilege.

## XXXII.

8 }  
29 } October, 1511.

WARRANT OF QUEEN JOANNA TO JOHN DE AGRAMONTE COVERING  
AN AGREEMENT WITH KING FERDINAND FOR A  
VOYAGE TO NEWFOUNDLAND.

Sobrecarta del Asiento que se tomó a Juan de Agramonte que va a saber el secreto de la tierra nova.

Doña Juana etc.

Por quanto por parte de vos, Juan de Agramonte, catalan, natural de Lerida,<sup>2</sup> que es en el reyno de Cataluña, me fué hecha relacion quel Rey, my Señor é Padre, mandó tomar é tomó cierto concierto é asiento con vos, par que vos ayais de yr, é vays, á vuestra costa é mysyon, á descubrir cierta Tierra Nueva en los límites que á Nos pertenesçen, segund en el dicho asyento é concierto se contiene, su tenor del cual dicho asyento es este que se sygue:

El Rey

El asyento que por mi mandado se tomó é asentó con vos,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. XVIIIa, p. 39 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Near Barcelona. It is the second city of Catalonia

Juan de Agramonte, catalan, natural de Lérida, para ir á saber el secreto de la Tierra Nueva es este :

Primeramente, que vos podays yr é vays con doss navíos del grandor que vos paresciere, que sean de nuestros vasallos, súbditos é naturales, é asynismo la gente que llevárdes sean naturales de estos reynos, ecabto que dos pilotos que llevárdes sean Bretones, ó de otra nacion que allá ayan estado, á vuestra costa é mysyon á la dicha Tierra Nova, por la costa ó parte que mejor hos pareciere á vos é á los marineros que con vos llevárdes para el dicho viaje, no tocando en la parte que pertenesce al Serenysimo Rey de Portugal, nuestro hijo<sup>1</sup>, y entiéndese aquellas que estovieren dentro de los límites que entre Nos y él estan señalados<sup>2</sup>, y que vos seays obligado de fletar é bastecer los dichos navíos para el dicho viaje á vuestra costa é misyon ; é para los cargar é fletar Yo vos doy licencia que los podays fletar y cargar en los puertos de Laredo é Santander<sup>3</sup>, ó qualquier dellos ; é para que en ello no se vos ponga ynpedimiento vos doy con la presente, provision para los concejos é justicias de las dichas villas é puertos, que vos lo dejen é consyentan hazer ; para el qual dicho viaje soys obligado de partyr lo ántes é mejor que pudierdes.

Ytem : Que Yo vos aya de dar é dé licencia, é por la presente vos la doy, para que todas las cosas que oviérdes menester para fornimiento de los dichos navíos, é de algunas mercaderyas que seran nescesarias para rescatar en la dicha Tierra Nova, que las podays comprar é cargar en los dichos navíos, sin pagar derechos algunos de los que á Nos pertenesçieren de las dichas cosas que cargárdes, jurando vos ante las justicias que seguyreys vos ellos el dicho viaje.

Ytem : Que por quanto vos aveis de yr por los pilotos, que con vos han de yr al dicho viaje, á Bretaña, que teneys voluntad de proveeros de allí de vinos é harina é carne, para lo traer al dicho puerto de Laredo ó Santander, que Yo vos aya de dar é dé licencia é provisyon para que de la entrada con los dichos navíos é harina é carne no pagueys derechos de los á Nos pertenesçientes, ni se os hagan descargar, no embargante qualquier costumbre ó premáticas que en contrario aya, para lo cual se vos dió la provision necesaria.

Ytem : Que de todo lo que rescatárdes é oviérdes en qualquier manera en el dicho viaje, nos ayais de dar é deys, sacadas

<sup>1</sup> Emmanuel had married Ferdinand's daughters Isabella and Maria.

<sup>2</sup> By the Treaty of Tordesillas, signed 7 June, 1494. Cf. p. xv., *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> Two ports on the Bay of Biscay not far from the French frontier.



vuestras costas, la sesta parte de todo lo que allí oviérdes, é que todo lo otro sea para vos, é que esta sesta parte que asy Nos oviéremos de aver, seays obligado de la traer é trayays do quier que Nos estoviéremos, á vuestra costa é mysyon.

Ytem: Que Yo vos dé licencia, é por la presente vos la doy para que los marineros que con vos fueren en el dicho viaje puedan llevar é lleven en sus caja (*sic*) la ropa é mercaderías que á vos hos paresciere, para rescatar en la dicha Tierra Nova, con tanto que al tyempo que lo cargaren, lo registren ante el escribano del dicho viaje, é que de lo que con ello rescateren é se oviere en qualquier manera, nos sean obligados á dar la sesta parte, como vos soys obligado en el capítulo de suso contenido, é que vos seays obligado en su nombre á lo asy complir, é que lo que no registraren lo ayan perdido é pierdan, é que sea para la nuestra cámara é fisco.

Ytem: Que trayéndonos vos buena nueva de la dicha Tierra Nova, é hallando en ella buena muestra de oro é otras cosas de que Nos seamos servidos, Yo vos mandaré rescibir por contino é criado de nuestra casa, é asentar en los libros della el acostamiento que fuere razon, é á nuestro servicio convenga, é que sea á vuestra honra segund la nueva que vos traxeredes, para que vos sea pagado por todos los dias de vuestra vida.

Ytem: Que Yo vos aya de dar, é por la presente prometo que vos mandaré dar é daré previllejo en forma para vos é para vuestros herederos é subcesores para syenpre jamas, de la dogena parte del oro que se hallare é oviere en la dicha Tierra Nova, como con la ayuda de Dios esperamos, vos mandaré dar é daré el dicho previllejo.

Ytem: Que descubierta la dicha Tierra Nova, é haziéndose en ella poblacion en nuestro nombre, segund se ha hecho en la dicha ysla Española, por la presente vos prometo de hos hazer merced, é sy necesario es, desde agora hos la hago, del alguasy-ladgo mayor de la dicha Tierra Nova para vos é para vuestros herederos é subcesores.

Ytem: Que hasyéndose casa de contratacion en la dicha Tierra Nova que asy vos descubriérdes ó hallárdes, por la presente vos prometo de hacer merced de la tesorería della á Juan Criado, para quien vos me lo suplicasteis.

Ytem: Que hasyéndose casa de la dicha fundicion en la dicha Tierra Nova, por la presente prometo de hazer merced del oficio de escovilla della á Cristóbal Vasques, por quien vos me lo suplicasteis.

Ytem: Que sy á la ida ó á la venida que vos aveys de yr á

la dicha tierra, yendo derechamente á ella por los términos é partes é navegacion que vos será señalado por un memorial firmado del obispo de Palencia<sup>1</sup>, mi capellan mayor é de nuestro consejo, é de Lope Conchillos, nuestro secretario, é no á otra parte ni partes algunas, fuérdes tomado é detenido á ystancia de algund rey cristiano, que hasyendomelo vos saber, Yo sea obligado de os sacar á pas é á salvo del dicho término é presyon, lo qual digo é prometo qué asy guardaré é cumpliré sin falta alguna.

Ytem: Que trayéndo vos Dios á salvamento del dicho viaje, vos aya de dar licencia, é por la presente vos la doy, para que podays, al tiempo que viniérdes con la nueva de la dicha Tierra Nova la primera vez, entrar é surgir en qualquier puerto de Galicia ó Vizcaya do llegárdes é el tiempo os traxere, con tanto que seais obligado al tiempo que llegárdes, ántes que desembarqueis vos ny ninguno de los que vinieren en los dichos navios de la dicha Tierra Nova, ni saquen dellos cosa alguna, de notificar á la justicia del dicho puerto donde asy llegárdes, como venis por nuestro mandado del dicho viaje, é de magnifestar antellos todo el oro é cosas que, plaziendo á Dios, se traxeren en qualquier manera, é que todo se ponga en registro por ante escribano, que la justicia del dicho lugar nombrare é señalare para ello.

Ytem: Que hasyéndose la casa de contratacion de la dicha Tierra Nova acá en España, Yo haya de hazer merced, é por la presente, hasyéndose la dicha casa, desde agora la hago del oficio de nuestro fator de la dicha casa á Ponce, nuestro cantor é capellan, é primo de vos, el dicho Juan de Agramonte, por quien vos me lo suplicastes.

Para todo lo qual hago mi capitan á vos, el dicho Juan de Agramonte, de los dos navíos é gente que en ellos fuere, é vos doy asy por la mar, como llegado á la dicha Tierra Nova, hasta ser vuelto á Nos con la nueva della, poder complido é juridicion civil é criminal, con todas sus yncidencias é dependencias, anexidades é conexidades, durante el dicho tiempo, quedando la apelacion de todo para ante Nos al nuestro consejo; é mando á todas las personas que en los dichos navíos fueren, é á cada uno dellos, que como á nuestro capitan vos obedezcan é vos dexten é consyentan usar el dicho oficio é juridicion, civil é criminal.

Por lo qual todo que dicho es, é cada cosa é parte dello, hasyendo vos, el dicho Juan de Agramonte, las diligencias susodichas contenydas, é que para la dicha navegacion é viaje con-

<sup>1</sup> Fonseca.

viene, por la presente prometo de vos mandar guardar é complir todo lo en esta capitulacion contenido, é cada cosa é parte dello, é sy necesario es, por la presente mando á todos los corregidores, asystentes, alcaldes, alguasyles, merinos é otras justicias qualesquier de todas las çibdades é villas é lugares destos reynos é señorios, que vean esta dicha capitulacion, é todo lo en ella contenido, é vos la guarden é cunplan en todo é por todo, segund que en ella se contienen, é contra el tenor é forma della vos no vayan ny pasen por alguna manera, so pena de la my merced é de 10,000 maravedis para la nuestra cámara é fisco, á cada uno que lo contrario fisiere. Fecha en la çibdad de Burgos á viii dias del mes de otubre de mil é quinientos é honze años. Yo el Rey. Por mandado de su alteza Lope Conchillos. Señalada del obispo de Palencia.

Suplicastesme que porque mejor el dicho asiento é concierto vos fuese guardado é conplido, vos mandase dar mi sobrecarta del, por que vos con el ayuda de Dios entendiades de nos haser mucho servicio en el dicho viaje, é Yo, por hazer bien é merced, acatando la voluntad y deseo con que vos aveys movido á nos servir en lo suso dicho, tobélo por bien é por la presente confirmo é apruevo el dicho concierto é asiento de suso contenido, é vos prometo é doy mi palabra Real, que vos será guardado é conplido en todo é por todo, segund que en ella se contiene, hasiendose por vos el dicho viaje é cosas de suso declaradas, de la manera que con vos se asentó, é no hasiendo cosa no devida, porque segund las leyes destos reynos debriades ser privado de la dicha merced, é contra el no se vos yrá ny pasará en tienpo alguno, ny por alguna manera; é por esta mi carta mando al principe don Carlos, mi muy caro é muy amado hijo, é á los del mi consejo, alcaldes, alguasyles de la mi casa, corte é chancelleria, é á todos los concejos, corregidores, asystentes, alcaldes, alguasyles, merinos é otras justicias qualesquier de todas las çibdades, villas é lugares de los mis reynos é señorios, que vos guarden é cunplan el dicho concierto é asiento suso contenido, en todo é por todo, segund que en el se contiene, é contra el no vos bayan, ni pasen en tienpo alguno, ni por alguna manera; é los unos, ni los otros non fagades ni fagan ende al, por alguna manera, etc. Dada en Burgos á xxix de otubre de mill é quinientos é honse años. Yo el Rey. Yo Lope Conchillos, secretario de la Reyna, nuestra señora, la fiz escrivir por mandado del Rey, su padre. Obispo de Palencia concertada.

From the Archives at Simancas, *Registro general del sello, octubre, 1511*: printed in part in Navarrete, *Coleccion de los*

*viages y descubrimientos*, III, num. XXXI, 122-5, (Madrid, 1829); and in the *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento de America*, XXXI, 202-8, Madrid, 1883.

### XXXIIA.

WARRANT FOR THE AGREEMENT MADE WITH JOHN DE AGRAMONTE ON SETTING FORTH TO DISCOVER THE SECRET OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

Queen Joanna, etc.

Whereas I have been informed by you, John de Agramonte, Catalonian, of the town of Lerida, which is in the kingdom of Catalonia, that the king, my lord and father, ordered to be drawn up and made a certain contract and agreement with you, by which you were to go and should go at your own cost and charges to discover a certain Newfoundland within our sphere of influence, according as it is stated in the said agreement and contract, the tenour of which said agreement is as follows:

The King.

The agreement which at my order was made and concluded with you, John de Agramonte, Catalonian, born in Lerida, in order to go and discover the secret of the Newfoundland is this:

First, that you may and do go with two vessels of the size that appears to you proper, provided they belong to our vassals and subjects, and also that the people you take with you be inhabitants of these kingdoms, (except that two of the pilots may be Bretons or belong to some other nation which has been there), at your own cost and charges, to the said Newfoundland, along the coast or region which shall seem best to you and to the sailors you take with you on the said voyage, not touching at that part which belongs to the Most Serene King of Portugal, our son, and this is understood to mean those portions which are within the limits marked out between ourselves and him; and that you are to fit out and provision the said ships for the said voyage at your own cost and charges; and in order to fit them out and load them, I give you licence so to do in the ports of Laredo and Santander or in either of them; and in order that you be not impeded in this, I give you by these presents an order for the town-councils and authorities of the said towns and ports to permit and allow you to do this; on which said voyage you are to set sail as early and in the best state you can.

Likewise, that I am to and do give you licence, and by these presents give it to you, to buy and load in the said vessels every-



thing necessary for the fitting out of the said ships, and any wares necessary for bartering in the said Newfoundland, without paying any of the dues collectible by us on the said goods, taking an oath before the authorities that you will indeed make the said voyage.

Likewise, that whereas you have to go to Brittany for the pilots who are to accompany you on the said voyage, and desire to provide yourself there with wines and flour and meat, and to bring them to the said port of Laredo or Santander, I am to and do give you licence and authority, that on arriving with the said ships and flour and meat, you do not pay the dues collectible by us, nor are you to be made to unload these goods, any custom or decrees to the contrary notwithstanding; for all which the necessary authority has been given to you.

Likewise, that you are to and do give us, after your costs have been deducted, the sixth part of all you may barter or obtain in any manner whatsoever on the said voyage; and that all the remainder be yours; and that you are to bring this sixth part, which we are thus to have, and do bring it to us wherever we may be, at your own cost and charges.

Likewise, that I am to give permission and by these presents do give it to you, that the sailors who may go with you on the said voyage be allowed to carry and do carry in their chests the cloth and merchandise that may seem proper to you to barter in the said Newfoundland, with the understanding that at the time they put it on board, they register it before the notary of the said expedition; and that of whatever they barter or obtain with the same, in any manner whatsoever, they give us the sixth part, as you are obliged in the paragraph above to do; and that you are under obligation to carry this out in their name; and that whatever is not registered be lost, and they lose it, and it be given to our exchequer and treasury.

Likewise, that should you bring us a favourable report of the said Newfoundland, and find there good samples of gold and other things of use to us, I shall order you to be received as *Contino*<sup>1</sup> and servant of our house, the salary which is just and proper for our service and which will be to your honour according to the information you may bring us, being entered upon the books of the same, in order that you may receive payment thereof all the days of your life.

Likewise, that I am to give you and by these presents pro-

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<sup>1</sup> One of the hundred yeomen formerly appointed to guard the king's person and palace.

mise that I shall order you to be given and will give you a grant in due form for yourself and your heirs and successors for ever of the twelfth part of the gold that may be found and collected in the said Newfoundland, as with God's help we hope I shall order you to be given and will give you the said grant.

Likewise, that after the said Newfoundland shall have been explored, should a colony be sent there in our name, as has been done in the said island of Hispaniola [Hayti], I promise by these presents to grant you, and if it be necessary henceforth grant you the office of chief constable in the said Newfoundland, for you and for your heirs and successors.

Likewise, that should a trading factory be set up in the said Newfoundland, which you are thus to explore and discover, I promise you by these presents to grant the office of treasurer of the same to John Criado, for whom you have asked it of me.

Likewise, that should a smelting foundry be set up in the said Newfoundland, I promise by these presents to grant the office of sweeper in the same to Christopher Vasques, for whom you have asked it of me.

Likewise, that in case on the way to or from the said land, going there direct by the route, track and course that will be shown to you in a document signed by the bishop of Palencia, my chief chaplain and one of the members of our council, and by Lope Conchillos, our secretary, and not making your way to any other place or places whatever, you should be seized and detained at the instance of any Christian king, should you inform me of this, I am under obligation to free you effectually and without injury from the said place and prison, which I declare and promise I shall fulfil and carry out without fail.

Likewise, that should God bring you back safe from the said voyage, I am to give you licence, and by these presents give it to you, that you may, on arriving the first time with news from the said Newfoundland, enter and cast anchor in any port whatsoever of Galicia or Biscay where you may arrive and the weather carry you, on condition that on your arrival, before you or any one of those who have come in the said ships from the said Newfoundland disembarks, or they unload anything from the ships, you notify the authorities of the said port where you thus arrive, how you come from the said voyage by our order; and you are to declare before them all the gold and goods which, God willing, shall in any manner be brought back; and that all be entered in a register before the notary whom the

authorities of the said port shall appoint and nominate for that purpose.

Likewise, that should a trading factory for the said Newfoundland be set up here in Spain, I am to appoint and by these presents, if the said factory be set up, henceforth do appoint Ponce, our chorister and chaplain, Factor of the said factory, who is your, John de Agramonte's, cousin, for whom you asked it of me.

For all which I appoint you, the said John de Agramonte, captain of my two ships and of the people in them, and grant you, as well at sea as on your arrival in the said Newfoundland, until your return with news of the same, high justice and civil and criminal jurisdiction, with all its incidents and dependences, annexed and connexed, during the said period, with appeal in every case before us in our Council; and I order all the people on board the said vessels and each of them to obey you as our captain, and to allow and permit you to exercise the said office, and civil and criminal jurisdiction.

In regard to all the above and to each part and parcel thereof, should you the said John de Agramonte perform all the duties therein set forth, and those which are proper to the said navigation and voyage, by these presents I promise to give orders that all contained in this grant and each part and parcel thereof be carried out and fulfilled, and if it be necessary, by these presents do give orders to all magistrates, chief justices, mayors, constables, superintendents and other authorities whatsoever of all the cities and towns and places of these kingdoms and dominions, that they read this said grant and all set forth in the same, and carry out and fulfil it for you absolutely, according to its contents, and do not proceed nor depart from the tenour and form thereof in any way in your case on pain [of the loss] of my favour and of 10,000 maravedis for our exchequer and treasury from each who shall do the contrary. Given in the city of Burgos on 8 October, 1511. I the King. By order of His Highness Lope Conchillos. Signed by the bishop of Palencia.

You have entreated me in order that the said agreement and contract be the better fulfilled and carried out, to give you my warrant for the same, since, with God's aid, it is your design to do us much service on this said voyage, and I, in order to show you goodwill and favour, in acknowledgement of the wish and desire by which you have been moved to serve us in the above, have deigned to order and by these presents confirm and approve

the said contract and agreement set forth above, and promise you and give you my royal word, that it shall be fulfilled and executed for you absolutely according to its tenour, you carrying out the said voyage and the things set forth above in the manner agreed upon, and not doing anything wrong for which by the laws of these kingdoms you should be deprived of the said favour; and nothing will be done to you or enacted against it at any time nor in any way; and by these letters of mine I command the Prince Don Carlos<sup>1</sup>, my very dear and much beloved son, and the members of my Council, the mayors, constables of my house, court and chancery and all the councils, magistrates, chief-justices, mayors, constables, superintendents and other authorities whatsoever of all the cities, towns and places of my kingdom and dominions, to fulfil and execute for you the said contract and agreement set forth above absolutely, according to its tenour, and not to move nor proceed against it at any time or in any way; and neither you, nor they are to do the contrary of what is desired in any way, etc. Given in Burgos on 29 October, 1511. I the King. I, Lope Conchillos, secretary of the Queen, our lady, had this written out by order of the king, her father. Agreed to by the bishop of Palencia.

### XXXIII.

29 (?) October, 1511.

LETTERS PATENT FROM QUEEN JOANNA CONFIRMING THE  
APPOINTMENT OF AGRAMONTE AS CAPTAIN OF THE  
EXPEDITION.

De Ofício, Ott° XI.

Doña Juana, etc.

Por quanto en cierto asyento é concierto que por mandado del Rey, my Señor é padre, é myo, se tomó con vos, Juan de Agramonte, catalan, natural de Lérida, para que vos ayais de yr, é vays con los navíos é con la gente que vos paresciere, á vuestra costa é mysyon, á descubrir é hallar una tierra que se llama Terranova, por la via é derrota que vos será señalado por my mandado por un memorial, firmado del obispo de Palencia, mi capellan mayor é del mi consejo, é por Lope Conchillos, mi secretario é del mi consejo; é en la dicha capitulacion é asyento que ansy con vos se dió, está asentado que

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<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Charles V.



vos ayais de ser é seays nuestro capitan de la dicha gente, ansy por mar, como por la tierra que vos allí descubriérdes, é fasta ser vuelto con la nueva de lo que ansi fallárdes é descubriérdes; por ende compliendo lo que ansy con vos fué asentado, y entendiendo ser ansy complidero al servicio de Dios, nuestro Señor, é á la execucion de nuestra justícia, é á lo que conviene para el dicho viaje, es mi merced é voluntad, por la parte que á my sy toca, que vos, el dicho Juan de Agramonte, tengays por nos la capitania, ansy por mar como por tierra, de la gente que fuere con vos el dicho viaje, fasta ser vuelto é desembarcado con la nueva de lo que en la dicha Tierranova fallárdes, é que como tal capitan podays usar é useys por vos é vuestros lugartenyentes el dicho oficio, segund é de la forma é manera que se contiene en un capítulo de la dicha capitulacion que con vos se asentó sobre lo susodicho, su tenor del cual es este que se sygue<sup>1</sup>:

E por esta my carta ó por su treslado, sygnado de escribano público, mando á todas é qualesquier personas que en los dichos dos navíos que vos así llevárdes, fueren, é en la dicha Tierranova asentaren é estovyeren, fasta ser vos vuelto é desembarcado con la dicha nueva, que vos ayan é tengan por nuestro capitan de todo ello, é vos obedezcan é dexeñ é consyentañ usar é exercer el dicho oficio, y executar la nuestra justícia, ansy en la mar como en la tierra, todo el dicho tiempo, por vos ó por vuestros lugartenientes; é podays oyr é librar é determinar, é oyays é libres é determines todos los pleitos é caubsas, ansy civiles como cremynales, que en la dicha mar é tierra se movieren durante el dicho tiempo; é podays llevar é lleveys vos é los dichos vuestros lugartenyentes, los derechos é salarios al dicho oficio anexos é pertenescientes, segund é por la forma é manera que fasta aquí se ha llevado é lleva por los otros nuestros capitanes que han ydo á semejantes cosas, é que como tal capitan podays fazer é fagays qualesquier pesquisas en los casos de derecho permisas, é todas las otras cosas al dicho oficio pertenecientes, é que vos entendays que á nuestro servicio é á la execucion de la nuestra justicia é al bien del dicho viaje cumple; é que para usar é exercer el dicho oficio, é complir é executar la nuestra justicia, todos se conformen con vos é vos dén é fagan dar todo el favor é ayuda que les pidiérdes é menester oviérdes, conforme al dicho capítulo que de suso va encorporado, é que en ello, ny en parte dello, embargo ny contrario alguno vos non pongan, nin consyentañ poner, ca Yo por la presente vos recibo é he por recibido al dicho oficio de nuestro capitan, é al uso é exercicio dél, é vos doy

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in the MS.

poder cumplido para lo usar y exercer, é cumplir é executar la nuestra justicia, ansy por mar como por tierra por el dicho tiempo, en la forma suso dicha, con todas sus yncidencias é dependencias, anexidades é conexidades, con tanto que vos ni las otras personas que con vos fueren, ny ninguno dellos, podays nin puedan rescatar cosa alguna, syno por antel nuestro escribano del dicho viaje, so pena de lo aver perdido lo que por el tal rescate se oviere, é sea para nuestra cámara é fisco; é ansy mismo por esta my carta mando al my almirante mayor de la mar, é á todos los otros capitanes que andan ó anduvieren en ella, é á todos los congejos, justicias, regidores, caballeros, escuderos, oficiales é omes buenos de todas las ciudades é villas é lugares é puertos é abras de la mar, donde vos fuérdes, apor-tárdes con la dicha gente é navíos, que vos ayan é tengan por nuestro capitan della, é vos dexe é consientan usar el dicho oficio, segund é como dicho es, é que en ello nin en cosa alguna, ni en parte dello embargo nin ympedimento alguno vos non pongan, nin consyentan poner, é los unos nin los otros, etc.

From the Archives at Simancas, *Registro general del sello, octubre 1511*; printed in Navarrete, op. cit., III, num. XXXII, 125-7; and in the *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento*, etc., XXXIX, 208-11.

### XXXIII A.

Queen Joanna, etc.

Whereas in a certain agreement and contract which by order of the king, my lord and father, and by my own, was made with you, John de Agramonte, Catalanian, born in Lerida, by which you are to go and should go with the ships and men that to you seem proper, at your own cost and charges, to discover and find a land called Newfoundland, by the route and course which will be disclosed to you at my order in a document signed by the bishop of Palencia, my chief chaplain and one of the members of my council, and by Lope Conchillos, my secretary and one of my council; and in the said stipulation and agreement thus made with you, it is agreed that you shall be and are our captain over the said people, as well by sea as on the land that you discover there, and until you return with news of what you have found and discovered; wherefore in fulfilment of that which was agreed upon with you, and desiring to be helpful to the service of God, our Lord, and to the execution of our justice, and to all that pertains to the said voyage, it is my pleasure

and will, in so far as concerns myself, that you, the said John de Agramonte, hold the captainship for us, as well by sea as on land, over the persons who may go with you on the said voyage, until your return and disembarkation with the news of what you find in the said Newfoundland, and that as such captain you may and do exercise by yourself and through your lieutenants the said office, according and in the form and manner which is contained in an article of the said contract which was agreed upon with you in regard to the above, the tenour of which is as follows<sup>1</sup>:

And by these my letters or by a copy of the same, signed by a notary public, I command all and whatsoever persons you thus take with you in the said two vessels, who may go and settle in the said Newfoundland, and who may be there until your return and disembarkation with the said news, to hold and consider you as our captain over all, and to obey you and to allow and permit you to fill and exercise the said office, and by yourself or your lieutenants to execute justice for us as well by sea as on land for the whole of the said period; and that you may hear and despatch and determine, and do hear and despatch and determine all the lawsuits and cases, as well civil as criminal, which may arise on the said sea or land during the said period; and that you and your said lieutenants may and do exact the fees and salaries annexed and belonging to the said office, according to and in the form and manner in which they have hitherto been exacted and are exacted by our other captains who have gone on similar expeditions; and that as such captain you may and do hold all kinds of investigations permitted in law-cases, and perform all other things belonging to the said office, and which in your opinion are fitting for our service, and for the execution of our justice and for the welfare of the said voyage; and that in order to fill and exercise the said office and carry out and exercise our justice, all submit to you, and give and cause you to be given all the favour and aid you may ask them and may need, according to the said article set forth above, and that they neither place nor allow to be placed any hindrance or impediment in this or in any part thereof; because I by these presents receive and have received you into the said office of our captain and into the employment and exercise of the same, and give you full power to use and exercise it and to administer and execute our justice, as well by sea as on land during the said period, in the form aforesaid, with all its incidents and dependences,

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<sup>1</sup> This article is omitted in the original.

annexed and connexed, on condition that neither you nor the other persons with you, nor any one of them barter anything except in the presence of our notary for the said expedition, on pain of the loss of whatever be obtained by such barter, which will be handed over to our exchequer and treasury; and likewise by these my letters I command my first admiral of the sea and all the captains that sail or may sail on the same, and all the councils, authorities, prefects, noblemen, esquires, clerks and good men of all the cities and towns and places and ports and harbours of the sea where you may go and land with the said people and ships, to hold and consider you as our captain of the same, and to permit and allow you to exercise the said office in the form and manner stated; and that neither in this nor in anything or any part thereof, they place or allow to be placed any hindrance or impediment; and neither the one nor the other, etc.

#### XXXIV.

13 September, 1512.

SEBASTIAN CABOT CONSULTED ABOUT NEWFOUNDLAND.

El Rey—Sebastian Caboto. Ya sabeis como el Reverendo in Christo Padre Obispo de Palencia, my capellan mayor e del my Consejo, e Lope Conchillos, my secretario é del my Consejo, vos hablaron de my parte en la ciudad de Burgos ciertas cosas sobre la navegación de las Indias e Isla de los Bacallaos, e quedó entre vos e ellos que, escribiendo yo á mylor de Ulivi, vuestro capitan, que os dejase venir á my corte, que luego verniades: agora yo le escribo rogandole que os deje venir, como por la cedula que para ello le envio vereis: por ende, yo vos ruego y encargo que luego, en dandovos la dicha licencia el dicho mylor de Ulivi, os vengais doquier que yo estoviere, porque, venido, se entenderá en lo que conviene sobre lo que los dichos Obispo de Palencia e Secretario Conchillos vos hablaron, y en esto no pongais dilación, que en ello me servireis.—De Logroño, á trece dias del mes de Septiembre de quinientos é doce años—Yo El Rey.—Por mandado de Su Alteza—Lope Conchillos.—Señalada del Obispo de Palencia.

From the Archivo de Indias at Seville, est. 139, caj. 1, leg. 5, libro IV, fol. 19<sup>v</sup>: printed in J. T. Medina, *El veneciano Sebastián Caboto al servicio de España*, etc., tomo 1, pp. 2-3. Santiago de Chile, 1908. Cf. HARRISSE, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 331-2.



XXXIV<sub>A</sub>.

The King<sup>1</sup>: Sebastian Cabot. You are already aware how the Rev. father in Christ, the bishop of Palencia [Fonseca], my chief chaplain and one of my Council, and Lope Conchillos, my secretary and one of my council, spoke to you on my behalf in the city of Burgos in regard to the navigation to the Indies and island of the Codfish, and it was agreed between you and them that on my writing to Lord Willoughby [de Broke], your captain, to allow you to come to court, you would come at once. I am now writing to him as you will see by the enclosed paper,<sup>2</sup> asking him to allow you to come. Wherefore I beg and charge you that, on Lord Willoughby giving you the said permission, you come wherever I may be, in order that on your coming a proper agreement may be drawn up in regard to the matters whereof the said bishop of Palencia and Secretary Conchillos spoke to you; and do not delay, for in this you will do me a service. From Logroño, 13 September 1512. I the King. By order of His Highness, Lope Conchillos. Counter-signed by the bishop of Palencia.

## XXXV.

January 1513.

## PARDON TO THE MATE OF A NEWFOUNDLAND FISHING-VESSEL.

Loys, etc. à touz présens et advenir, savoir faisons, nous avoir receue l'humble supplicacion et requeste des parens et amys de nostre pource subget Guillaume Dobel, filz Jehan Dobel, de la parroisse de Pleneut<sup>3</sup> en l'évesché de Saint-Brieuc, contenant que comme ainsi soit, que à ung jour de lundy au moys de septembre, l'an mil cinq cens dix, Guillaume de Brejehan (?) Bertran Menyer, Mathelin Picart, N. Dobel, Rolland Le Roux, Gilles Regnault, Allain Hercouët, Lorans Balaine, Anthoine Thomas et ung nommé Pierres Riou, autrement appelé Ricaffan, Guillaume Avoué, bastard, Allain Helliguen, sieur de Mauny, Guillaume Garroche et ledit Guillaume Dobel fussent en ung navire du havre de Daouet<sup>4</sup>, appelé *la Jacquette*, dudit havre, duquel navire ledit Bertram Menyer estoit maistre après Dieu, et ledit Guillaume Dobel contremaistre, partirent le matin d'yeeluy jour audit navire du havre de Saint Aulbin de

<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand of Aragon.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Medina, op. cit. I., 4, where this document has been printed.

<sup>3</sup> Now Pléneuf, in the Department of the Côtes-du-Nord.

<sup>4</sup> Dahouët, a small port near Pléneuf.

Quillebeuf<sup>1</sup> en la ripviere de Senne, venans de la ville de Rouan, où lesdits nommez avoint vendu du poysson qu'ilz avoint esté quérir et pescher és parties de la Terre-Neusfve. Et comme ilz furent desplacez et esloignez dudit havre de Sainct-Aubin, environ une lieue et demye, ayante la voille au vent, tirans leur route pour s'en venir descendre audit havre de Daouet, ledit Mathelin Picart dist qu'il convenoit ranger la boueste. Surquoy ledit Guillaume Dobel, quel a lors avoit la charge de gouverner et conduyre ledit navire, dist que ledit navire avoit trop de treff, et que ledit Picart n'estoit que un diot. Et comme ledit Guillaume Garroche, qui lors gouvernoit ledit navire o le heaulme et gouvernail d'yceluy navire, commanza à parler du mareaige dudit navire, ledit Guillaume Dobel luy dist, qu'il n'estoit pas pour en parler et qu'il n'estoit que ung veau. Et sur celles parrolles et que ledit Garroche laissa ledit gouvernail et entra sur le tillac, ou derrière d'yceluy navire, disant par telles parrolles ou semblables: "*En effet le tout est jeu que de frapper*", ledit Guillaume Dobel lui donna ung coup de sa main sur le vissage, et par en prés, voyant que ledit Garroche murmuroit contre luy, et qu'il avoit abandonné ledit gouvernail dudit navire, ce luy Guillaume Dobel tira ung pongnat et courte dague, qu'il avoit à son costé, et commença à marcher vers ledit Garroche. Quel Garroche cuydant obvier audit Dobel, s'en partit à grant haste dudit lieu où il estoit, et yssit par le dehors dudit navire, se tenant o les mains au bort dudit navire. Et lors ledit Dobel, estant au dedans dudit navire, pourchassant celuy Garroche, ayant sadite dague mise en sa main, ledit Garroche cuydant tousjours obvier et se garantir dudit Dobel, lascha les mains dudit [bord?]<sup>2</sup>, chemynant vers le derrière dudit navire, de sorte qu'il tomba et cheut en la mer. Et tout incontinent l'un desdits mariniers, qui lors descendoit de la hune dudit navire, commença à crier à haulte voiez par telles parrolles: "*Sauffve l'homme*", en parlant dudit Garroche. Et à celle heure ledit Guillaume Dobel sortit ou petit bateau dudit navire, quel estoit amarré au bout d'yceluy navire, couppa une corde, appelée la bousse, o laquelle ledit bateau estoit amarré, et luy et ledit Bertran Menyer et Lorans Belyane, queulx pareillement sortirent audit bateau, nagèrent ledit bateau à grant dylligence droict audit Garroche, qui nageoit sur l'eau, cuydant le recouvrer et sauffver; ce que ne peurent faire. Et fut ledit Garroche noyé et couvert tout incontinent en la mer. Et ce voyant ledit Guillaume Dobel, et qu'il avoit esté cause de la mort dudit Garroche,

<sup>1</sup> Now Saint-Aubin sur Quillebeuf, a suburb of Quillebeuf at the mouth of the Seine.

<sup>2</sup> There is a blank here in the MS.

de correux et desplaisir qu'il en eut, dist en luy mesme, qu'il ne retourneroit point audit navire, nagea ledit bateau droict à terre, et sortit hors dudit bateau, et dist adieu audits nommez. Et craignant estre accusé et aprehendé de justice dudit cas, n'a dempuy osé ledit Dobel s'en venir, ne se tenir audit pays.

Remanstrant oultre, que ledit Guillaume Dobel est jeune homme soubz l'eaisge de trente-deux ans, l'un des bons mariniers de ce pays et duché, et homme pour servir à la chose publique, tant ou faict de la guerre que autrement, de bon rest et honneste gouvernement, et lequel, auparavant ledit cas, n'avoit jamays eu haygne, ne conceu inimitié avecques ledit Garroche, mays par cas de fortune estoit ledit cas advenu, et que puis l'an avoit esté par lesdits parrens et amys dudit Dobel faict appoinctement o la veuffve dudit Garroche, en son nom et tutrice de son filz en elle procréé par ledit deffunct Garroche, son mary, et luy faict satisfacion pour son droict et intérêt, et en obtenu quictance par décret de court et consentement desdits parens et amys dudit deffunct; nous suppliant qu'il nous plaise de notre grace et auctorité royalle lui impartir noz graces, remission et pardon dudit cas, tres humblement, le nous requerant. Pourquoy etc., pourvu qu'il, en personne, présentera cestes présentes lettres de grace aux prochains ou seconds generaux plectz de notre court et barre, de par devant celui de noz juges qui les expédira, notre procureur dudit lieu et parties complaignantes, s'aucunes sont, pour faire vérification de ce que dessus. Donné à Vennes, ou moys de janvier, l'an de grace mil cinq cens doze, et de nostre regne le quinziesme. Ainsi signé sur le replot; visa, par le Roy, et à la relacion de son conseil, Leleureux.

From the Archives du département de la Loire-Inférieure at Nantes, série OM. B. 21, fols. 15-6, whence the above copy was kindly taken by M. L. Maître, the archivist of the Department. This document was first published by the late M. A. de La Borderie in his *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie bretonnes*, II, 153-6, Rennes et Paris, 1858. Cf. also *Annales de Bretagne*, IX, 435-7, Rennes, 1894.

### XXXVI.

14-17 December, 1514.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE MONKS OF THE ABBEY OF BEAUPORT AND THE INHABITANTS OF THE ISLAND OF BRÉHAT<sup>1</sup>,  
WHEREIN MENTION IS MADE OF NEWFOUNDLAND COD.

Transaction entre l'abbé et convent de Beauport d'une part, et les habitants de l'isle de Bréhat d'autre, par laquelle lesdicts

<sup>1</sup> An island off the French coast near Paimpol.



habitans, pour demeurer quittes de 18 deniers monnoie qu'ils paioint par an pour droit de dixme de poësson par chaque habitant audessus de 18 ans se meslant de pesche, et 9 deniers monnoie par chaquun audessous dudict age, s'obligent de faire audict abbé et convent assiette de 100 soubz, monnoie de rente, aux paroisses de Plounez, Plouézec, Kériti ou Plouballanec, 1514. (Laquelle assiette fut faite à l'abbaye de Beauport par acte de l'année 1521 sur fond des pièces de terres de Goazriou en la paroisse de Plouézec<sup>1</sup>, faisans les hérittages de l'art. 3 du baille en Plouézec).<sup>2</sup>

Sur l'action [et different qui]<sup>3</sup> estoit [meu et en espoir de] grandement mover et ensuir, tant par la court de monsieur le déan de Doul à Penpoul que aultrement, entre révérand père en Dieu, Jehan, ab [bé de l'abbaye Nostre] Dame de Beauport et le couvant dudict lieu, d'une part, et les parossiens desmoraantz et habitans en l'isle de Bréhat d'autre partie, sur et en ce que lesdicts abbé et couvant et chacun avoient dict et propossé ou entendoient [dire] et proposer à l'ancontre desdicts habitans en ladicte ysle de Béhat (*sic*), que touz et checun les homes malles de ladicte ysle qui eussent excédez l'asgre de dix ouyct ans et qui peschassent en la mer o rays, ayns ou aultres engins à prandre poësson, de quelque sorte de poësson que ce fuct, tant congres, morues, merlux que aultres poëssons, en quelque part que ce soipt, tant en la coste de Betaigne (*sic*), la Terre-Neuffve, Îslandre, que ailleurs, debvoit et estoit subgettz poyer et faire avoir ausdicts abbé et couvant de Beauport, leurs rescepvours, commis et depputtez, pour debvoir de desme de leur poësson et pescherie, dix ouyct deniers monnoie; et ceulx soubz l'aisgue desdicts dix ouyct ans, neuff deniers monnoie, par checun an, à checun jour et terme de monsieur saint Michel Montegargan, et queque soipt une foays l'an; quel debvoir de desme de poësson avoient lesdicts desmourantz en ladicte ysle de Bréhat, et leurs prédécesseurs de paravant eulx, faict possession de poyer par an, deux, troys, quatre, cinq, dix, vingt, trante, quarante, cincquante, sexante ans, et dedans approuver á suffire, et queque soipt par tant de tamps que valloit pour possession maintenir et garder en l'advenir; et ce estre vroy et notaire, et lesdicts habitans en avoir esté cognoissans et confessans approuver à suffire, dont en avoient lesdicts abbé et couvant quis et demandé, ou entendoient querre et demander respons desdicts faictz envers les-

<sup>1</sup> A village near Saint-Brieuc, department of the Côtes-du-Nord.

<sup>2</sup> The title is written in a seventeenth century hand, while the words enclosed in round brackets are in an eighteenth century hand.

<sup>3</sup> The words within the square brackets are supplied conjecturally where the MS. is damaged.



dicts desmourantz en ladicte ysle et checun, concluantz ou entendoient conclure leurs dicts cogneuz ou prouvez, affin qu'ilz fussent et soipnt condampnez, contraintz et compellés poyer et continuer le temps futur, checun d'eulx respectivement, lesdicts dix ouyct et neuff deniers monnoie, checun an, pour ledict devoir de desme, comme dict est, sauff droit des levées, despans, misses et intérestz; lesquieulx desmourantz en ladicte ysle.....<sup>1</sup> entendoient protester d'impertinence desdicts faictz et d'alléger leurs péremtoères et deffanses, et au parensus desdire avoir faict aulcune possession de poyer....., ne ce estre notaire, et ne ilz en avoir esté cognoissans vers lesdicts abbé et couvant, et du parensus dire n'en sçavoir rien.

Sur desbat de quoy, pouroit tourner sur grande [contacion], o procès et pléderies, à leur grand préjudicze, soipnt et domaige; et pour y obvier et meptre fin, pays, amour, et union entreulx nourir en l'advenir à cause de ce, SAICHENT tous, que par nostre court du ressort de Goëllou, et auxi par celle de Penpoul<sup>2</sup> en Goëllou, et par checune et l'une l'execucion de l'une ne impeschante l'autre, ains pouront concurre ensembles, et checune pour soy, ont esté présentz en droit davant nous, et personnellement establiz lesdicts révérand père en Dieu Jehan, abbé de ladicte abbaye et le couvant dudict lieu, sçavoir est: maistre Vincent Du Rochier, prieur de ladicte abbaye, fraire Jehan Huect, soubz prieur, fraire Almaury de La Cuisine, ballif, fraire Henry Gervaise, fraire Bertram Brousse, Jacques Guézou, Rolland Saoulect, Phélippe Le Gricquer et plusieurs aultres religieux de ladicte abbaye, congrégez ensembles à son de campane en chapitre, en leur manière acoustumée, pour trecter et disposer de leurs négoces et affaires, auquel couvant à sa requeste ledict révérand père en Dieu a donné et donne auctorite et pouër quant à tout le contenu en cestes et qui ensuyet, faire gréer, fournir et tenir, d'une part; et Nicolas Martin, Rolland Le Paige, aultrement Huon, Laurens Méryen, Rolland Le Brigant, Jehan Bourssoul et checun, de l'isle de Bréhat, tant en leurs noms que comme procureurs o pouër esprès de et pour les aultres desmourantz en ladicte ysle, quant et affin de transiger et appointer touchant ladicte cause et mattière..... o et avesque lesdicts abbé et couvant, ainsi et de la fourme que si les habitans et desmourantz en ladicte ysle eussent esté présentz en personnes, et eussent peu faire et aultrement, sellon au dessir de l'acte de procuration présentement aparue, dabtée du

<sup>1</sup> The MS. is illegible where dots are inserted.

<sup>2</sup> Paimpol.

dixiesme jour de décembre, présent moays, passée de Jehan Du Vieuchastel et Rolland Bocher, notaires soubzeriptz, et scellée; et d'abondant lesdicts procureurs sur nommez desdicts habitantz, et checun en leurs privés noms, trouveront les aultres parrossiens, demourantz et habitantz en ladicte yslle, dedans quinze jours prouchains venantz, à ratiffier et avoir agréable cest appointé et quy ensuyet, à la paine de vingt escuz d'or; quelle ratification vauldra en absance comme en présence desdicts abbé et couvent, d'aultre part; se submectantz et se submectent d'une part et d'aultre, o touz et checun leurs biens et par leurs sermentz, aux destroict, juridicion, seigneurie et oboissance de nostres dictes courtz et checune, quelles ont prorogées et prorogent sur eulx et leursdicts biens, quant audiet contenu en cestes et qui ensuyet, faire gréer, fournir, tenir et acomplir. Et ce faict, ont lesdictes parties et checune respectivement, sur les chosses et mattières dessus présupposées, leurs secuelles et deppandances, transsigé, pacifié, pacté, appointé et accordé, et par cestes présentes transsigent, appointent, pactent, pacifient et accordent par forme, que pour lesdicts Nicolas Martin, Rolland Huon, Laurens Méryen, Jouhan Bourssoul, Rolland Le Brigant, et checun et esdicts noms, estre et demorer quictes, eulx, leurs hers et sucesseurs, à jamès, envers lesdicts abbé et couvant de Beauport dudiet devoir de desme de poësson, et ilz et checun en estre franc et exans à pescher en la mer, la part là où ils vouront et bon leur semblera, tant congres, morues, merlux que toutz aultres manières de poëssons, sans en poyer aulcune chose ausdicts abbé et couvant pour lediet devoir de desme, ne pour aultre devoir, à cause de la pescherie qu'ilz y feront et faczent faire; ont lesdicts sur nommez et esdicts noms promis et se sont obligés, sur l'obligacion de touz et checun leurs biens, meubles et immeubles, présentz et fucteurs, et par leurs sermentz, bailler, livrer et assoair, bailleront, libveront et assoèront en fons de héritaige, en bon lieu et valable, là où le seillon d'assiepte vauldra pour le moins. . . . .<sup>1</sup> deniers, monnoie d'assiepte, ausdicts abbé et couvant acceptantz, nully contredissant, la somme et nombre de cent soubz, monnoie de rente de levée, sans desché, dedans six ans prouchains venantz, en l'une ou checune des paroësses de Ploëzec, Kériti, Ploénez ou Ploëballannec à esgart de prisageur ou prisageurs que choëssiront entreulx agréablement, et, au desport de ce, faire poyer la levée par main ausdicts abbé et couvant, checun an, à checun jour et feste de monsieur saint Michel Montegargan, à comancier le premier poyement à la Saint Michel prouchaine venante, quelle levée, pendant faire

<sup>1</sup> There is a blank here in the MS.

ladicte assiepte, poyeront lesdicts Nicolas Martin, Rolland Huon, Laurens Méryen, Jehan Bourssoul et Rolland Le Brigant en leurs privez noms, sans que lesdicts abbé et couvant soibnt subgectz en faire action ne demande vers nulz aultres que vers eulx d'icelle levée. Auxi est dict, divissé et condicionné entreulx, que lesdicts révérand père en Dieu et sondict couvent ne seront subgiet prandre en leur assiepte piecze de terre quelle ne vaille aulmoains troyz boesseaulx froment de rente de levée, à la mesure de Goëllou, sy plus ne vault. Et par tant fournissant ce que dessus est dict de la part desdicts Martin, Brigant, Huon, Méryen et Bourssoul et esdicts noms, sont et desmeurent quictes les ungntz vers les aultres desdictes parties, et checune respectivement, à cause de ce que dessus est supposé, en principal, levées, misses et intérestz, tant du desmaigne de la cause que aultrement, généralement et entièrement.

Quelles chosses et checune dessus dictes, lesdicts nommez et checun pour ce que lui touche ont voullu, promis et juré par leurs sermentz, et sur l'obligacion de tous et checun leurs biens, présentz et advenir, tant meubles que héritaiges, ainsi tenir, fournir et acomplir, sans jamès encontre venir, et sans terme de parler, jour, juge, exoine, plégement querre, avoir ne demander. A quoy et à toutes aultres dilacions, cavillacions, subterfuges quieulxconques, ilz et checun d'eulx ont renucié et renunczent, et par leurs dicts sermentz impeschant ou retardant l'effet, substancze et entérinencze de cestes. Et nous, de leurs assente-mentz ad ce tenir et fornir, les avons condampnez et condampnons.

Donné tesmoign le scel estably aux contractz de nousdictes courtz et checune y apposez, à la relation des notaires et tabelions cy soubzscriptz, à leurs prières et requestes. Ce fuct faict et grée prins audict lieu de Beauport et oudict chapittre, le quatorziesme jour de décembre, l'an mil cinq centz quatorze. En interligne *establiz* approuvé et en cancelle *ledict et reprouvez*. Donné comme dessus.

G. Folvays, passe.

R. Bocher, passe.

J. Du Vieuchastel, passe.

Dampuiz l'escript cy dessus, le dimanche dix-septiesme jour dudict moays de décembre, l'an mil cinq centz quatorze, au pronne de la grande messe domynicalle célébrée en l'esglise parrocielle de l'ysle de Béhat (*sic*), les parrossiens desmourantz et habitantz en ladicte ysle congrégez et ensemblés pour ouyr le service divin, et trecter de leurs négoces et affaires populaires, et que que soit la plus saine et mère somme d'iceulx, sçavoir est:

<sup>1</sup> The words in *italic* have been crossed out in the original.



Arthur Le Pellec, Gillect Elbin, Nicolas Palou, Yvon Guillou, Jouhan Leconifle, Yvon Le Pellec, Jacques Estiemble, aultrement Séré, Olivier Le Bornyc, Juher Le Bras, Olivier Le Brigant, Thomas Prigent, Gillect Le Guern, Jouhan Le Brigant, Guillaume Le Dreunannec, Guillaume Le Lès, Guillaume Le Chenis, Thomas Kaërenbellec et plusseurs aultres, lesquieulx parrociens et checun d'eulx, et comme que soit la mère vould d'iceulx, amprès la lecture leur avoir esté présentement faicte de la transsaction et appointé cy dessus escripte, dabtée du xiiii<sup>e</sup> jour de cest présent moays de décembre, passée des notaires soubzscriptz, y rescours, ensuy entre révérand père en Dieu, Jehan, abbé de l'abbaye Nostre Dame de Beauport et le couvant dudict lieu, d'une part, et Nicolas Martin, Jouhan Bourssoul, Rolland Huon, Laurens Méryen, Rolland Le Brigant et checun d'eulx, procureurs à celle fin desdicts parrociens demourantz et habitantz en ladicte ysle et pour checun d'eulx, d'aultre partie, et icelle transsaction et appointement avoir esté descléré et donné à entendre de moult à aultre, o tout son effect et sustanze ausdicts parrossiens, lesdicts parrossiens demourantz et habitantz en ladicte ysle, nully contredisant, ont ratiffié, loué et eu agréable, ratiffient, louent et ont agréable ladicte transsaction et appointé, vouldantz et veullent qu'il tienne et sorte son effect, ainsi et de la forme que si ilz et checun d'eulx eussent esté présentz audict appointement faire, promectantz, promectent et jurent par leurs sermentz, et sur l'obligacion de touz et checun leurs biens, meubles et immeubles, présentz et fucturs, ladicte transaction tenir, fournir et accomplir de point à aultre, sans jamès en contre venir, *et cetera*. Grée et juré en toute mère fourme des contractz et o parailles renunciacions que audict transsact sur dabté; submission, prorogacion de juridiction, *et cetera*, par nosdictes courtz du ressort de Goëllou, Penpoul, et par checune et l'une, et le grée prins audict lieu lesdicts jour et an. Il y a en cancelle *elle* repprouvé.

R. Bocher, passe.

J. Du Vieuchastel, passe.

From the Archives of the Department of the Côtes-du-Nord, série H, fonds de l'abbaye de Beauport: printed in the *Annales de Bretagne*, IX, No. 2, 176-82. Rennes, Janvier, 1894. The present copy was kindly collated with the original by Monsieur Tempier, the archivist of the Department, who himself first made known this document at a meeting of the Historical and Archeological Society of the Côtes-du-Nord held on 11 June, 1886. Cf. *Mémoires de la société archéologique des Côtes-du-Nord*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, vol. II, p. XXXIII, Saint-Brieuc, 1885-6.



## XXXVII.

18 February, 1520<sup>1</sup>.

## A VESSEL FROM BAYONNE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND.

A Vos, Tres Honorables Seinhors, Mess<sup>rs</sup> Los Loctenent de Moss<sup>or</sup> Lo Maire, Esclevins et Conseilh de Baionne:

Supplicque humblement Pes de le Lande, disen que a inten-cion, au plaser de Diu, tremecte son nabiū, aperat le *Senct Pe*, a Terre Nave, auquoau en ledite ciutat a cargat partide de quet, et sere content cargar le reste, si lodit nabiū podē bonemens passer les passes, so que no luy sere possible, a cause que lodit nabiū trey grande aigue. So considerat, pregue lodit supplicant que de vostres gravis vos placi luy donar congiit et liccenci de poder peracabar le cargue deudit nabiū au dejus Capbreton, chens prejudici deus establimens de ledite ciutat; et feratz bien.

Viste la presente requeste, es estat autreyat congiit audit supplicant de poder peracabar sa cargue au dejus Capbreton, et asso de graci speciau, chens prejudici deus establimens et editi deu Rey nostre seinhor. Feyt en conseilh, lo xviii<sup>e</sup> jorn de fevrier mil V<sup>e</sup> XIX.

From the Archives Municipales de Bayonne, Registres de Délibérations en gascon du Corps de Ville, BB. 6, fols. 95-6: printed in *Archives municipales de Bayonne, Délibérations du Corps de Ville, Registres gascons*, II, 242, Bayonne, 1898.

## XXXVIIA.

To you, most Honourable Lords, Messrs. the Lieutenant of the Mayor, Sheriffs and Council of Bayonne:

Pes de Le Lande makes humble petition, setting forth that it is his intention, at God's pleasure, to send to Newfoundland his ship called the *St. Peter*, which is already partly loaded in the said city, and he would be willing to load the remainder, if the said vessel could easily pass the channels, but this will not be possible, for the reason that the said vessel draws much water. In consideration of this, the said petitioner begs that of your goodness you will be pleased to grant him permission and

<sup>1</sup> Monsieur Ducéré in his *Recherches historiques sur la pêche de la morue et la découverte de Terre-Neuve* (Pau, 1893) mentions (p. 55), a document dated 1512. M. Ducéré has since stated that this is a printer's error for the date given above. Cf. *Archives municipales de Bayonne, Délibérations du Corps de Ville, Rôles gascons*, vol. I, p. XXV.

licence to be allowed to complete the cargo of the said vessel below Capbreton,<sup>1</sup> without prejudice to the regulations of the said city; and you will do well.

The present request having been read, permission has been granted to the said petitioner to be allowed to complete his cargo below Capbreton, and this by special favour, without prejudice to the regulations and edict of the king, our lord. Given in council, 18 February, 1519 (n. st. 1520).

### XXXVIII.

6 March 1521.

A VESSEL FROM BAYONNE BOUND FOR NEWFOUNDLAND.

A Monseinhor lo Loctenent de Monseinhor Lo Maire, Esclevins et Notable Conseilh de Baionne:

Supplicquen humblement los seinhors Miqueu de Segure et Mathieu de Biran, disen que, au plaser de Diu, an delivrat tremeete lor nabiu ente Terre Nabe, a le pesque, et lor combien grand quantitat de bitailhes, Et enter autres causes lo nombre et quantitat de quoarante pippes de pomade, de les meilhors que se puisquen trobar. Et sie aixi, que lodit de Segure a ung verger en son vourdiu a Senct Esteben, lo quoau fey cultivar a sons despens, et aye certan nombre de pomades de quet; et aussi lodit de Biran aye certans deutes a Seinhaxs, deusquoaus luy combien prende son pagement en pomades. So considerat, preguen, supplicquen et requeren losditz supplicans, que vous placi lor bailhar congiit, de graci speciau, et chens prejudici deus establimens de ledite ciutat, de cargar audit nabiu quoarante pipes de pomades estranges, partide deu bordiu deudit de Segure et lo surplus de Seinhax, per la provision et abitaillement deudit nabiu; et feratz bien.

Aixi signat: M. de Biran.

Viste le presente requeste et aquere en conseilh comunicade, ordenat es estat que losditz supplicans, ampres que an jurat enter les mangs de Monseinhor lo Loctenent, que lor sera licit et permes cargar en lordit nabiu, per habitaillement de quet, le mitat de les pomades ad aquet necessari deu crescut de le ciutat, et l'autre mitat de les deusditz supplicans. Et asso de graci speciau, considerat lo viadage que lodit nabiu a pres, et chens prejudici deus establimens de le ciutat fasens mention deus vins et pomades et autres restrinctions et edict deu Rey, nostre seinhor,

<sup>1</sup> A small town on the bay of Biscay, north of Bayonne.

quoant aux portz, cargues et descargues. Et si son trobatz fasen lo contrari, incorreran l'amende de cent livres tornes, applicquedeyres aus affars de ledite ciutat. Feyt en conseilh, lo vj<sup>e</sup> jorn de mars, l'an mil V<sup>e</sup> et vingt.

DAYMAR.

From the Archives Municipales de Bayonne, série BB. 6, fol. 189; printed in *Archives municipales de Bayonne, Délibérations du Corps de Ville, Registres gascons*, 11, 281.

### XXXVIII<sup>A</sup>.

To My Lord the Lieutenant of My Lord the Mayor, Sheriffs and Notable Council of Bayonne:

Messrs. Michael de Segure and Matthew de Biran make humble petition, setting forth that they have decided, at God's pleasure, to send their vessel as far as Newfoundland to fish, and they need a large quantity of provisions, and among other things the number and quantity of forty butts of cider, of the best that can be found. And this being so, that the said de Segure has an orchard on his farm at St. Stephen, which is worked at his expense and from this he has a certain amount of cider; and also the said de Biran has certain debts at Seinhanx<sup>1</sup>, for which he is willing to take payment in cider. In consideration of this, the said petitioners beg, supplicate and ask that you will be pleased to grant them permission, by special favour and without prejudice to the regulations of the said city, to load on board the said vessel forty butts of outside cider, part from the farm of the said de Segure and the surplus from Seinhanx, for the provision and victualling of the said vessel; and you will be doing well.

Signed: M. de Biran.

The present request having been read and considered here in council, it has been ordered that the said petitioners, after they have taken oath before My Lord the Lieutenant, shall be allowed and permitted to load cider in their said vessel for the provisioning of the same, half the amount necessary thereto being grown in the city, and the other half being that belonging to the said petitioners. And this by special favour, in consideration of the voyage the said vessel is to make, and without prejudice to the regulations of the city making mention of

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Cénac in the Department of the Gironde.

wines and ciders, and to other restrictions and edict of the king, our lord, relating to the ports, loading and unloading. And should they be found doing the contrary, they will incur a fine of one hundred livres tournois, to be applied to the affairs of the city. Given in council, 6 March, 1520.

DAYMAR<sup>1</sup>.

XXXIX.

13 March, }  
22 May, } 1521.

CONFIRMATION OF THE LETTERS PATENT TO FAGUNDES.

Saibam quantos este estormento de trellado de doaçam, dado em pubrica forma per mandado e autoridade de justiça, virem, que no anno do nascimento de nosso Senhor Jesu Christo de mill V<sup>c</sup> XXI annos, aos xxii dias do mes de mayo, em a praça da villa de Viana de foz de lima, perante Affonso Lopez, vereador e loguo tente de juiz em a dita villa, em ausencia do doutor Francisco Mendez, juiz de fora com alçada em a dita villa e seu termo por elrrei, nosso Senhor etc. pareceo Joam Alvarez ffagundez, cavaleiro da casa do dito Senhor, e apresentou, e per mim, taballiam, leer e pubricar ffez ao dito loguo tente de juiz huma carta de doaçam, escripta em purgaminho e assinada com o proprio sinall delrrey, nosso Senhor, e aseellada do sseu seello pendente, da quall o trellado, de verbo a verbo, tall he como sse ssegue:

Dom Manuel, per graça de Deus, Rey de Purtuguall e dos Alguarves, daaquem e daalem mar em Affrica, Senhor de Guinee, e da conquista, navegaçam, comercio d'Etiofia, Arabia, Persia, e da India etc., a quantos esta nosa carta virem, ffazemos saber, que nos demos a Joam Alvarez Fagundes, cavaleiro da nosa casa, humo nosso alvara em que sse contem, que sintindo nos, asy por servyço de Deus e nosso, e por lhe ffazermos mercee, nos praz, que indo elle descobrir terras, lhe darmos e ffazermos mercee da capitania de todas aquellas ilhas e terras que elle descobrisse, asy e pella maneyra que sam dadas aos capitães das nossas Ilhas da Madeira e Açores; e asy nos prazya, por quanto elle nom tinha ffilho macho, ssenam huma ffilha, que a dita sua filha e todos sseus ssocessores, asy por linha masculina como ffeminina, podessem herdar a dita capitania, ssem embargo da ley mentall, e que isto sse emtendesse naquellas cousas de que ja nom ffosse pasada alguma carta de mercee. E que nom po-

<sup>1</sup> The clerk.



desse ir, nem sse entendesse esta mercee da primeira terra do Brasill, da banda do norte des contra o sull, ssenam pera o norte, ssegundo vimos per o dito alvara; por bem do quall alvara elle ffoy a descobrir terras e ilhas haa dita parte nelle conteudo, e ora nos ffez certo per testemunhas dinas de ffee, que elle achara as terras e ilhas sseguintes, a saber: a terra que sse diz ser ffirmе, que he des a demarcaçam de Castella, que parte de banda do sull com a nossa demarcaçam, atee viir partir com a terra que os Corte rreaes descobrirom, que hee da banda do norte; aas tres ilhas na baya d'auguoad, na costa de nordeste e sudueste; e as ilhas a que elle pos nome fflagumdas sam estas, a saber: sam Joam e sam Pedro, e santa Ana e santo Antonio; e as ilhas do arçepelleguo de sam Panteliom com a ilha de Pitiguoem, e as ilhas do arçepelleguo das honze mill virgeens; E a ilha de santa Cruz, que esta no pee do banco; e outra ilha que sse chama tanbem de santa Ana, que ffoy vista e non apadroada: das quaes terras e ilhas lhe ffazemos doaçam e mercee da capitania dellas, asy e pella maneira que teemos dadas as capitancias da nosa ilha da Madeira e das outras ilhas, com todas as craussolas e condições, declarações, graças e mercees, privilegios e liberdades conteudas e declaradas nas cartas das ditas capitancias, asy no que toca haa jurdiçam como aas rendas, E em todo o mais nellas conteudo. E quanto ha ssocesam, avella ha como no dito alvara ffiz mengam: e mais nos praz de lhe ffazermos mercee E doaçam pella mesma maneyra ssobredita das saboarias, brancas e pretas, de juro e derdade, das ditas terras e ilhas. E porem mandamos aos veedores da nosa ffazenda, e a todollos nossos corregedores, juizes e justiças, contadores, vizinhos e moradores das ditas ilhas e terras, que ora sam e ao diante forem, que cunpram e guoardem, e ffaçam em todo comprir e guoardar esta nosa carta ao dito Joam Alvarez fflagundez e a sseus ssocessores, et o metam em posse dellas, ssem lhe nisso poerem duvida nem embarguo algum, por que asy he nosa mercee, avendo rrespeyto a sseus sserviços, E como a ssua propria custa e despesa elle descobrio as ditas terras e ilhas, e ffez nisso muyto gasto e despesa; E por ffirmеza de todo, lhe mandamos dar esta carta per nos asynada, E asseellada de nosso ssello pendente. Dada em a nosa muy nobre e ssempre leall cidade de Lixbõa, aos xiii dias de março. Manuell da Fonsseca a ffez, anno do nacimiento de nosso Senhor Jesu Christo de mill V<sup>e</sup> XXI. E quanto haa jurdiçam que toca ao civill, emtenderssea que a aja e que usara della asy e na maneira que ora usam os capitaes da ilha da Madeira, e lhe he limitado por nos.

A quall carta asy apresentada, o dito Joam Alvarez rrequereo ao dito loguo tente de juiz, que lhe mandasse della dar o trellado em publica forma, por que lhe era negesario. E visto per o dito loguo tente de juiz sseu dizer, e a dita doagam, como era caregente de todo vicio e ssospeigam, interpos em mim, taballiam, sua autoridade hordinaria, e mandou que lhe desse o trello que pidia em publica forma, o quall mandava que vallesse e fizesse inteiramente ffee como o proprio originall. Testemunhas que eram presentes: Gonçallo Pereira, Cavalleiro. Egas Lopez.....anes piloto.....pubrico e judiccial.....senhor que esta esprevi e aqui meu pubrico sinall.

Logar do signal publico.

From the Archives of the Senhor Conde de Bertiaandos<sup>1</sup>: printed in E. A. de Bettencourt, op. cit., 132-5; and in the *Archivo dos Açores*, IV, 466-7, (with omissions).

### XXXIXA.

Know as many as shall see this copy of a grant given in legal form by order and authority of justice, that on 22 May in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1521, in the market-place of the town of Vianna, at the mouth of the Lima<sup>2</sup>, before Alfonso Lopez, alderman and judge's deputy in the said town, in the absence of Dr. Francis Mendez, judge-advocate for the king, our lord, with jurisdiction over the said town and its environs, etc., appeared John Alvarez Fagundez, nobleman of the said lord's court, who produced and had me, the notary, read and publish to the said judge's deputy a grant, written on parchment and signed with the sign-manual of the king, our lord, and sealed with his hanging seal, the tenour of which is, word for word, as follows:

King Emmanuel, by the grace of God, king of Portugal and of the Algarves, of this and that side the sea in Africa, lord of Guinea and of the conquest, navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and of India, etc. To as many as shall see these our letters we make known, that we have granted to John

<sup>1</sup> Owing to the fact that the original is kept at this gentleman's country seat in the north of Portugal, it has not been possible to collate the above copy. The Conde de Bertiaandos still possesses a house at Vianna which came into his family as the property of Fagundes's daughter, mentioned above.

<sup>2</sup> A river navigable for twelve miles from the sea.

Alvarez Fagundes, nobleman of our court, a charter of ours in which it is stated that, thinking it to be to God's service and our own, and in order to show him favour, it is our pleasure, should he set off to discover lands, to give and grant him the governorship of all those islands and lands he may discover, in the same form and manner that the governors of our islands of Madeira and the Azores have received their offices; and it was our pleasure, since he had no son but only a daughter, that his said daughter and her successors, both in the male as well as the female line, should inherit the said governorship, notwithstanding any mental law, and that the above be understood of those matters in regard to which no grant of appointment has already been made. And that this grant should not include nor embrace the first land of Brazil from north to south, but towards the north, as we read in the said charter; by virtue of which charter he set off to discover lands and islands in the region therein stated, and he now proves to us by witnesses worthy of credence, that he has found the following lands and islands, namely: the land said to be mainland which stretches from the line of demarcation with Castille<sup>1</sup>, which is contiguous in the south with our boundary, as far as the land that the Corte Reals discovered, which is in the north<sup>2</sup>: the three islands in Watering-place bay on the coast running north-east and south-west: and the islands named by him Fagundes are these, namely: St. John<sup>3</sup>, St. Peter, St. Anna and St. Antonio: the islands of St. Panteliom's archipelago, with Pitiguoem island: the islands of the Archipelago of the 11,000 Virgins<sup>4</sup>: the island of Santa Cruz,<sup>5</sup> which lies at the foot of the bank, and another island also named St. Anna, which was sighted but not put upon record; of which lands and islands we give and grant him the governorship in the same form and manner that we have granted the governorship of our islands of Madeira and the rest, with all the clauses and conditions, favours and salaries, privileges and liberties contained and set

<sup>1</sup> This is placed to the west of St. Pierre and Miquelon. Vid. F. Kunstmann *Atlas zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Amerikas*, IV, München, 1859, and J. G. Kohl, *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika*, Weimar, 1860.

<sup>2</sup> Our Newfoundland and Labrador. Vid. Kohl's edition of Ribero's map.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. p. x., note †, *Supra*. The others have not been identified.

<sup>4</sup> Our St. Pierre and Miquelon islands. Vid. the Miller and Maggiolo maps.

<sup>5</sup> On the Reinel, Kunstmann No. IV, Riccardiana, Vallard and Cabot maps it is placed to the south-east of cape Race.

forth in the grants of the said governorships, relating both to jurisdiction and to the revenues, and with all else therein contained. And in regard to the succession, he is to have it in the manner set forth in the said charter. And furthermore it is our pleasure to give and grant him, in the above-mentioned manner with legal right and inheritance, the white and black soap-houses of the said lands and islands. And furthermore we command the comptroller of our estate and all our magistrates, judges and justices, receivers, dwellers in and inhabitants of the said islands and lands, both present and future, to carry out and observe throughout, and to cause to be carried out and observed these our letters to the said John Alvarez Fagundez and his successors, and to grant possession thereof to him without raising any difficulty or impediment, for such is our pleasure, in view of his services and of how at his own expense and cost he discovered the said lands and islands and spent therein much of his wealth. And in confirmation of all we command these letters signed by us and sealed with our hanging seal to be delivered to him. Given in our very noble and always loyal city of Lisbon on 13 March. Emmanuel de Fonseca made this in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1521. And in regard to the civil jurisdiction, it is understood he is to possess and use it in the form and manner that our governors of the island of Madeira now do, and to which we have restricted its use in his case.

When this grant had been thus presented, the said John Alvarez asked the said judge's deputy to order a copy thereof in legal form to be given to him, as he was in need thereof. And when the said judge's deputy heard these words and saw that the said grant was free from all defects and suspicion, he interposed his ordinary authority, and ordered me, the notary, to give him the copy in legal form, which he directed should have the same force and complete credit as the original itself. Witnesses present:

Gonzales Pereira, Knight, etc., etc.

Space for the public seal.



## XL.

31 March, 1521.

A VESSEL FROM BAYONNE BOUND FOR NEWFOUNDLAND.

A V. tres honorables Seinhors, Mosseinhors Lo Loctenent, Eseelevins et Conseilh de la Ciutat de Baionne:

Remustren humblement los seinhors Pes de le Lande et Mathiu de Biran, marchans de ledite ciutat, que cum a present lor nabiū apperat *Le Marie* sie arribat cargat de myne fens lo Bocau, et a causes de les grantz chorres, no es possible montar per far sa descargue en ledite ciutat; Et cum presentemens ayen deliberat tremete lodit nabiū en Terre Nave, a cause que lo temps es disposat a far lodit viadge, et si a present no lo fasen, lodit viadge sere pergut per tot l'an; pareilhemens le compainhie se jacten los lachar si promptemens lodit viadge no se fey, a cause de que an feyt plusors galions et autres provisions, per que preguen et humblementz supplicquen a vos autres, mesditz seinhors, que aven reguoard a sso dessus, vos placi de vostres venignes gracis lor concedir congiit et liccenci de descargar audit Bocau, o plus hault, ont vos sera vist fasedor, ladite myne per aquere menar en coraus en ledite ciutat, affin de far lordit viadge; car autrement si lodit congiit no los es permes, perderen lodit viadge qui lor sere ung tres-grand dampnadge, auquoau vos plaira obviar. Et so fasen obligueratz losdits supplicantz a far servici a ledite ciutat en tot so que lor sera possible.

Viste la presente requeste et aquere en conseilh comunicade, es estat donat congiit et liccenci ausditz supplicans de descargar audit Bocau, o plus hault, ladite myne, per aquere menar en coraus en le presente ciutat, en seguent lor requeste; Et asso de graci speciau, chens prejudici deus establiment de ledite ciutat et ediit deu Rey, nostre seinhor, en pagan los dretz acostumatz. Feyt en conseilh, lo darrer jor de mars mill Vc XX.

From the Archives Municipales de Bayonne, Registres de Délibérations en gascon du Corps de Ville, série BB. 6, fols. 91-2: printed in *Archives municipales de Bayonne, Délibérations du Corps de Ville, Registres gascons*, II, 240.

XLA.

To You, Most Honourable Lords, Messrs. the Lieutenant, Sheriffs and Council of the city of Bayonne:

Messrs. Pes de Le Lande and Matthew de Biran, merchants of the said city, humbly set forth, how at present their vessel, called the *Mary*, has arrived within the Bocau<sup>1</sup>, loaded with red lead, and on account of the great currents, it is not possible to bring her up to unload her in the said city; and as they have now decided to send the said vessel to Newfoundland, since the weather is favourable for making the said voyage; and if they do not do so at once, the said voyage will be lost for this year: likewise the sailors boast they will leave them, if the said voyage is not promptly begun, to which end they have made several cases of biscuits (?) and other provisions; wherefore they beg and humbly petition you, my Lords aforesaid, that, taking the above into consideration, you will be pleased of your kind favour to grant them permission and licence to unload at the said Bocau or higher up, where it shall be quickly done, and to bring the said red lead in barges here to this said city, in order to set off on the said voyage; for otherwise if the said permission be not given them, they will miss the said voyage, which will be a very great loss to them; and this you will be pleased to prevent. And in so doing you will put the said petitioners under obligation to serve the said city wherever possible.

The present request having been read, and here in council considered, permission and licence have been given to the said petitioners to unload the said red lead at the said Bocau or higher up, in order to bring it in barges here to this city, according to their request; and this by special favour, on payment of the accustomed dues, without prejudice to the regulations of the said city and edict of the king, our lord. Given in council, the last day of March 1520. (n. st. 1521).

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<sup>1</sup> A port north of Bayonne.

## XLI.

1 March } 1521.  
9 April }

## A PROJECTED EXPEDITION TO NEWFOUNDLAND.

*An answer made to serten of the kinges counsell as consernyng  
the kinges shippes to be occupied.*

The first day of Marche<sup>1</sup> here assembled my lord the maire, Sir Laurence Aylmer, M. Monoux, M. Milborn, M. Bayly, & M. Wylkynson, aldermen, M. Carter, M. Clerk, & M. Vaughan, Wardens & of the Counsell, M. Hawkyns, M. Cremor, M. Gaine, M. Rudston, M. Askue, M. Gentyll, M. Perpount, M. White, M. Champyon, M. Sadler, & M. Dolphyn, and at the said assembly yt was agreed that the Wardens w<sup>t</sup> M. Rudston, M. Perpount & M. Dolphyn shall common w<sup>t</sup> the Wardens of other aunney-aunt ffeliships to knowe what aunswere were best to be made to M. Wynkfield & M. Broun, of the kynges counsell, concernyng the kinges shippys. And the same day, aftir assembly made at ffirere Austyns<sup>2</sup> by wardens of dyvers companys, and agreed all aftir one mynd, we made our aunswere in wryting & delyvered yt unto the said counsell by thassent of this hows, the tenour where of is this that foloweth :

The aunswere of the Wardens of Drapers of London unto the reporte of Sir Robert Wynkfeld and Sir Wolston Broun, knyghtes, and of our Soverayn lord the kinges moste honorable counsell, ffirst where it hathe pleased the kinges highnes of his moste gracious zeles, good mynd, and tendre favour towardes his merchaundes of London had, as by the reporte of the foresaid Sir Robert and Sir Wolston unto the said Wardens lately made, ffor the whiche moste gracious zeles, good mynd and tendre favour, all we ben naturally bounden to pray to God for his moste gracious and prosperous contynuaunce in good helth and long lyf. And as toching the taking or receyving of one of the kinges shippes, we say we have noo auctorite to bynd our hole company and ffeliship unto any suche charge. And also that in our company be but fewe Aventurors, saving onely in to fflaunders, where unto requireth noo grete shippes. furthermore we say that if it be the kinges pleasur to caws to be manned, rygged, appareled and vitayled suche a ship as the company shall think convenient, that than we, the said wardens, shall

<sup>1</sup> Of the year 1521, new style.

<sup>2</sup> Austin Friars.

applye us to labour our said company for to freght and laid the said ship to the best of our powers, having suche a resonable price of ye freght, as other shippes hath in lyke viage & lading. Also we thynk it is dowlfull that any English ship shalbe sufferd to laid in Spayn & in other countres, by reason of such actes & statutes there made, after suche lyke maner as be made in Eng-  
lond for gascon wyn & colles wood<sup>1</sup> from Burdeux.

.....  
The xi day of Marche here assembled M. Monoux, M. Milborn, M. Bayly & M. Wylkynson, Aldermen, M. Carter, M. Clerk, M. Vaughan, Wardens, the hole counsell, the lyverey & the hole body of the ffeliship, ryche & poure, and at the said assembly was redd openly unto them the Articles folowing, directed unto us by the Wardens of the Mercers from the kinges Counsell and to x other craftes of the moste Anunciant, in thies woordes, that is to say:

*Certen number of shippes to be appoynted to go into the new  
fownd lande.*

ffirst the king & my lord Cardinall<sup>2</sup> & the Counsell thynketh aswele for his honour as for the generall welth of this his Realm that there be appoynted a certayn noumbre of ships to be prepared for a viage to be made into the newefound Iland.

And his gracious pleasur is, that it be opened unto the generaltie of merchauntes adventurers & to certayn companys to knowe there benevolent myndes there in.

And the demaund that is required of you is to furnyshe v shippes affir this maner: The kinges Grace to prepare them in takyll, ordenaunce and all other necessities at his charge, And also the king to bere the adventour of the said shippes, And the merchauntes & companys to be at the charge of the vitayling and mennys wages of the same shippes for one hole yere, and the shippes not to be above vj<sup>xx</sup> ton a pece. And also it is the kinges pleasur that this Citie of London shalbe as hede Reulers for all the hole realm, for asmany Cites and Townes as be mynded to prepare any shippes forwardes for the same purpos & viage, as the Town of Bristowe hath sent up there knowlege, that they wyll prepare ij shippes; And if ye be mynded to doe as afore is resyted, his gracious pleasur is that x yere after, there shall no nacion have the trate but you.

<sup>1</sup> Wood for casks. By I Henry VII, c. 8, Gascon wine could only be brought to England in English ships.

<sup>2</sup> Wolsey.



And to have respyte for there custom xv monthes & xv monthes, and the said Wardens to make aunswere in wryting of the premisses aforesaid bitwen this & Wednysday next comyng.

The premisses considered, the Maister, Wardens & Counsell endeverd them furthwith w<sup>t</sup> the best wordes, exortacion and diligence, to knowe the benivolent mynd of every man there assembled at that tyme, and also commaunded them that than were absent to come bifore my lord the maire and them the next morowe aftir. Soo that all there graunts amownted to a small somme. And my lord & maisters seying that, made there aunswer in form folowing, that is to say:

*Answer made to byl sent by the Wardens of Mercers.*

The aunswere of the Wardens of Drapers of London w<sup>t</sup> thassent & consent of the moste parte of all there company, unto a byll lately sent unto them by the Wardens of the Mercers of London consernyng the appoyntement of v shippes to be prepared towards the Newefound Iland.

ffirst the foresaid Wardens & company of Drapers supposen and say, that if our Soverayne lord the kinges highnes, the Cardinales grace and the kinges moste honorable counsell were duely & substauncially enformed in such maner as perfite knowlege myght be had by credible reporte of maisters & mariners naturally born w<sup>t</sup> in this Realm of England, having experience, and excercised in and abowt the forsaid Iland, aswele in knowlege of the land, the due courses of the seey, thiderward & homeward, as in knowlege of the havenes, roodes, poortes, crekes, dayngers & sholdes there uppon that coste and there abowtes being, that than it were the lesse joperdy to aventur thider than it is nowe, all though it be farther hens than fewe English maryners can tell.

And we thynk it were to sore aventour to joperd v shippes w<sup>t</sup> men & goodes unto the said Iland uppon the singuler trust of one man, callyd as we understond, Sebastyan<sup>1</sup>, whiche Sebastyan, as we here<sup>2</sup> say, was never in that land hym self, all if he makes reporte of many thinges as he hath hard his ffather and other men speke in tymes past.

And also we say that if the said Sebastyan had bene there and were as connyng a man in & for thoos parties as any man

<sup>1</sup> In all probability Sebastian Cabot. Vid. HARRISSE, *John Cabot and Sebastian his son*, 163-73.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. hear.

myght be, having non other assistauntes of maisters & maryners of Englund, excercised & labored in the same parties, for to guyd there shippys & other charges than we knowe of, but onely trusting to the said Sebastyan, we suppos it were no wysdom to aventur lyves & goodes thider in suche maner, what for fere of syknes or dethe of the said Sebastian, or for desevering of the said v shippys by nyght or by day, by force of tempestes or otherwyse, one from an other owt of syght, for than it shuld be gretely to dowte wheder ever thes v shippys shuld mete ayen in company or nay, for the said Sebastian cannot be but in one ship, than the other iiij<sup>or</sup> shippys & men standes in grete perell, for lak of connyng maryners in knowlege of thoos parties, and to ordre & guyd them; and soo the vitaylles and mennys wages shalbe spent in vayn, and they glad to retorn homeward w<sup>t</sup> small comforte, for it is said among maryners in old proverbe: "he salys not surely that salys by an other mannys compas."

Also we say that it is not possible that the said v shippes, besides there Balast, may receyve the vitaylles to suffice so many men for one hole yere, soo that we think verely that in this adventour can be percevyed any advauntage or profite to growe unto any man, but rather losse and damage, besides the gretest joperdy of all, whiche is mennys lyves.

Than aftir that this our Aunswere and the Aunswers of x other crafts were debated & resoned among them all at Saynt Thomas of Akers<sup>1</sup>, they agreed to send furth the Governour and iiij<sup>or</sup> Wardens of divers misters unto my lord Cardynall w<sup>t</sup> this commyssion folowing:

Here aftir foloweth the Articles that the commissioners sent to my lord Cardynall from the Wardens of xj companys to be spoken in the behalf of the said Wardens.

ffyrst the foresaid Wardens sayen that there companys be wylling to accomlishe the kinges desire and pleasur in furnyssing of ij shippys accordingly, and they suppos to furnysssh the thryd, soo that one may bere w<sup>t</sup> an other indifferently of xj ffelishippes assembled w<sup>t</sup> the Aldermen of the same, And also uppon certayn articles to them to be graunted by the kinges highnes & his honorable Councell.

And the said wardens desyre to have lenger respyte for a full aunswere therein to be yeven.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Watney, *Some Account of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon*, 94-5, London, 1892.

The said commissioners brought aunswere fro my lord Cardynall that the king wold have the premisses to goo furth and to take effect. And there uppon my lord the maire was send for to speke w<sup>t</sup> the king for the sam matier, so that his grace wold have no nay there in, but spak sharpely to the maire to see it putt in execucion to the best of his power.

ffor the same purpose the xxvj day of Marche my lord the Maire commaunded the hole company of all this fraternite to assemble bifore hym at the Drapers hall, where was w<sup>t</sup> grete labour & deligence & many divers warnynges, graunted first & last ij<sup>c</sup> marces<sup>1</sup>, presentyd by a byll to the maire, the ixth day of Aprill in this maner:

*ij<sup>c</sup> marcks grauntyd towart maryners wages & rygging of shippes to the new found land.*

The Maister and Wardens of Drapers of London in the names of all there company graunten of there benevolent myndes to pay towards maryners wages and vitayling of certayn shippes for one viage to be made by the grace of God into the Newfound Iland ij<sup>c</sup> marces under suche condicion as shalbe articed bitwen the kinges moste Noble counsell and the Adventurers of the said cite of London unto the foresaid Iland, the names of the payers & their severall sommes for the said ij<sup>c</sup> marces appereth in the iijd leef following.

.....

Here aftir foloweth the Names of them that graunted to pay unto the charges of the viage to be made into the newefound Iland ij<sup>c</sup> marces.

My lord the maire, Sir John Brugge,	VIII <sup>li</sup> .
Sir Laur. Aylmer.	
Mr. Monoux,	VIII <sup>li</sup> .
Mr. Milborn,	VII <sup>li</sup> .
Mr. Bayly,	V <sup>li</sup> .
Mr. Wylkynson for hym & W <sup>m</sup> . Hartwell,	X marces.
Mr. Carter,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
Mr. Roche,	III <sup>li</sup> .
Mr. Clerk,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
Mr. Vaughan,	III <sup>li</sup> .
Mr. Hawkins,	IIII marces.
Mr. Cremor,	V <sup>li</sup> .

<sup>1</sup> The mark was 13s. 4d.

°Mr. Starky,	XIII <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
Mr. Gaine,	III <sup>li</sup> .
Mr. Burton,	
Mr. Rudston,	V <sup>li</sup> .
Mr. Askue,	V marces.
Mr. Hasylwod,	
°Mr. Brugge,	XXVI <sup>s</sup> VIII <sup>d</sup> .
Mr. Breverer,	L <sup>s</sup> .
Mr. Gentyll,	IIII marces.
Mr. Brothurs,	IIII marces.
Mr. Laur. Starky.	
Mr. Dixon,	IIII <sup>li</sup> .
Mr. Perpount,	V marces.
Mr. White.	XL <sup>s</sup> .
Mr. Champion,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
Mr. Dolphyn,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
Mr. Burgh,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
Mr. Cradok,	
Mr. Sadler,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
Mr. Warner,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
Mr. Tryndyll,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
Mr. Greneway,	
Mr. Bawdwyn,	
Mr. Monmoth,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
Mr. Doctor Ancarage,	
Mr. Pawlet,	
Mr. Rycroft,	
°William Venables,	XX <sup>s</sup> .
William Larke,	XXVI <sup>s</sup> VIII <sup>d</sup> .
John Hancok,	
John Happyffeld,	XX <sup>s</sup> .
John Smyth sen.,	
John Southwod,	XX <sup>s</sup> .
°William Nele,	XIII <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
Ric. fforth,	
Thomas Ovand,	XXVI <sup>s</sup> VIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Arnold Babyngton,	XX <sup>s</sup> .
Thomas Spencer,	XX <sup>s</sup> .
John Parys,	XXVI <sup>s</sup> VIII <sup>d</sup> .
Ric. Bysshop,	XX <sup>s</sup> .



Rog. Dele,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
Matheu Boughton,	
John Parnell,	XXVI <sup>s</sup> VIII <sup>d</sup> .
Pancras Colred,	XIII <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
John Braunch,	XX <sup>s</sup> .
Ric. Prow,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
°William Prud,	XIII <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Thomas flud,	XIII <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
John Smyth jun.,	XX <sup>s</sup> .
John Richardes,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
William Chamberlayn,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
John Kyddermyster,	V <sup>li</sup> .
Thomas Bartelet,	
°Thomas Barret,	XIII <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°William Nicholson,	XIII <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
Thomas Gest,	XX <sup>s</sup> .
John Plummer,	XX <sup>s</sup> .
Thomas Huntyngfeld,	
°William Bowyer,	III <sup>li</sup> .
Thomas Wattys,	III <sup>li</sup> .
Ric. Warner,	
Thomas Howell,	
°Robert Oke,	XIII <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
Robert Lees,	XXVI <sup>s</sup> VIII <sup>d</sup> .
°William ffysshher,	VI <sup>s</sup> VIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Rog. Southall,	XIII <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
Sum of the graunte of the masters lyverey	
Am <sup>th</sup>	

*Bachillers.*

John Saunders,	III <sup>li</sup> VI <sup>s</sup> VIII <sup>d</sup> .
°John Isaac,	V marces.
John Sadler,	X <sup>s</sup> .
Robert Alford,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
Bryan Hartwell,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
Jamys Apole,	XXVI <sup>s</sup> VIII <sup>d</sup> .
°John Brokk,	XX <sup>s</sup> .
Stephen Gybson,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
John Goodryk,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
Henry Capell & Edward Capell,	III <sup>li</sup> .

William Thomson,	XL <sup>s</sup> .
Robert Ap Raynold,	X <sup>s</sup> .
Robert Nicholson,	X <sup>s</sup> .
Thomas Bough,	VI <sup>s</sup> VIII <sup>d</sup> .
°William Burnyngale,	XX <sup>s</sup> .
°Thomas Grafton,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Thomas Dudley,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Hugh Umpton,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Roger Lowdale,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Ric. Robynson,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°David Greffeth,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Peter Cave,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Sampson Crompton,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°John Persons,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Thomas Stowell,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Thomas Pykmer,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Henry Chardnall,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°John Swan,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°William Page,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°John Chaundeler,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Germanyn Corbett,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Cristofer Ranwyk,	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup> .
°Edward Dee,	II <sup>s</sup> .
°John Clerk,	II <sup>s</sup> .
°Patrick Michelson,	XX <sup>d</sup> .
°Laur. Sulley,	XX <sup>d</sup> .
°John Dynhm,	XX <sup>d</sup> .
°William Webbe,	XX <sup>d</sup> .
°Thomas Warner,	XX <sup>d</sup> .
°William Bayly,	XII <sup>d</sup> .
°Thomas a Wodd,	XII <sup>d</sup> .
°Thomas Dady,	XII <sup>d</sup> .
°William Kent,	XII <sup>d</sup> .
°Robert Sandes,	XII <sup>d</sup> .
°Alexander Lee,	XII <sup>d</sup> .
°Peter Honyborn,	XII <sup>d</sup> .

Sum of the graunte of the Bachillers

Am<sup>th</sup>

Memorandum that all the names bfore wrytten in this lefe

that have this ° uppon there heedes were not putt in my lord the maires byll.

From the Records of the Drapers' Company of London, vol. VII (1514-50), pp. 167-70 and 175-6; printed in part in W. Herbert, *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, I, 410-11, London, 1837; and in HARRISSE, *The Discovery of North America*, 747-50.

## XLII.

21 August 1522

### NOTICES OF THE RETURN OF THE ENGLISH FISHING FLEET FROM NEWFOUNDLAND.

(1)

*A Letter from Vice-Admiral Fitzwilliam to Cardinal Wolsey.*

.....Also I sent for West, who should goo westwardes to gyve hym his charge, and he shewed me he hath vitailles but for oon weke, wherfore he cannot goo soo farre off, as he shuld doo, w<sup>t</sup> soo small vitailles; and that considered, your grace must doo oon of these two thinges, that is to seye, either sende vitailles unto hym incontynently, or elles let the *Mary James* goo in his place, who as yet is vitailed for ffyve wekes; and though it bee not long sythens Bawdewyn Willoughby, Capitayn therof, was made the kinges servant, yet I dare bee bownde for his hardynesse and trueth. The oon of which two thinges must bee followed, ffor it were to grete a losse, that such ships as bee appointed westwardes, shuld not bee sent forwardes afor the comynge home of the new fownd Isle landes flete.

Written in the Downes<sup>1</sup>, this Thursday at night, at xi of the clok, by your servant to the best of his power.

WYLLIAM FFYTZWYLLIAM.

Endorsed: To the lord Cardinalls Grace

From Syr William Fitzwilliams.

From the Public Record Office, Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, vol. 25, pp. 140-1: summarized in the *Calendar* vol. 3, pt. 2, No. 2459.

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<sup>1</sup> Between the east coast of Kent and the Goodwin Sands.

(2)

*Vice-Admiral Fitzwilliam to King Henry VIII.*

Please it your hignesse to understand that yesternyght I w<sup>t</sup> themporours armye arryved here, the circumstance wherof and of every other thing concernyng the same, I have written at length to my lord cardynalles grace, which I knowe well your grace will see, and therfore I trouble not your hignesse therw<sup>t</sup> at this tyme. And in contynent upon myne arryvalle here, I sent for my fellowe West, to have shewed hym your gracious pleasur concernyng his charge westwardes; and he shewed me he was not vitailled passed for oon weke, which is farre to litle to goo into those parties, wherof I am right sorye; ffor I assure your grace, by that that I can here and perceyve, he hath doon his duetie here right well, and is worthy thanks. But the caas is now that your grace must doo oon of these two thinges, that is to sey, either sende vitailles for hym incontynently, there maye no tract bee therin, or elles let the *Mary James* goo in her place, for now surely commeth home the new fownd Isle-land flete.....

Written in the Downes, this Thursday at night, the xxi<sup>st</sup> day of August, at xi of the klok, by your humble subgiēt and most bownd servant,

WYLLIAM FFYTZWYLLIAM.

Endorsed: To the kinges hignesse From Master Fitzwilliams.

From the Public Record Office, Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, vol. 25, pp. 138-9: summarized in the *Calendar* vol. 3, pt. 2, No. 2458.

XLIII.

17 September 1522

FRESH CONFIRMATION TO VASCO ANNES CORTE REAL OF THE LET-  
TERS PATENT GRANTED TO HIS BROTHER GASPAS.

A V<sup>o</sup> anes Corte Real, confirmacam da doacam que foy feita a Gaspar Corte Real, seu irmão das capitánias que elle descobrisse, etc.

Dom Joam, etc. A quantos esta nosa carta virem, fazemos saber, que por parte de V<sup>o</sup> anes Corte Reall, fidalguo de nosa casa, nos foy apresentada hua carta delRey, meu senhor e padre,



que santa grolya (*sic*) aja, de que o teor tall he: Dom Manoell, per graca de Deos, Rey de Purtugall e dos Algarves, daquem e dallem mar em Africa, senhor de Guinea e da conquysta, navegagam, comercio d'Etiopia, Arabia, Persia, da India, a quantos esta nosa carta de confirmaçam, [etc. as in Nos. XXVII and XVII, pp. 92-4 and 32-4] . . . . . Alvoro Fernamdez a fez, de m b°. Pedimdonos o dito V° anes Corte Reall por merçe, lhe confirmamos a dita carta, e visto per nos seu requerimento, queremdolhe fazer graca e merce, lha confirmamos e avemos por comfirmada asy e pella maneira que nela he conteudo, e mamdamos que asy se guarde, sem outra duvida. Feita em Lixboa a xbij dias do mes de setembro. Pero Fernamdez a fez, ano do nacemento de noso Senhor Jhu X° de mil b°xxij.

From the Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, liv. XXXV de D. João III, fols. 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>, and liv. XLIX of the same, fol. 243<sup>v</sup>: printed in the Harrisse, *Les Corte-Real*, 226-7; and in the *Archivo dos Acores*, IV, 501.

### XLIIIA.

CONFIRMATION TO VASCO ANNES CORTE REAL OF THE GRANT  
MADE TO HIS BROTHER GASPAR CORTE REAL OF THE CAP-  
TAINRIES HE MIGHT DISCOVER, ETC.

King John<sup>1</sup>, etc. To as many as shall see these letters of ours, we make known, that there has been presented to us by Vasco Annes Corte Real, nobleman of our court, a grant of the king, my father and master, whom Heaven guard, whereof the tenour is:

King Emmanuel, by God's grace, king of Portugal and of the Algarves, of this and that side the sea in Africa, lord of Guinea and of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and of India, to as many as shall see this grant [etc. as in Nos. XXVIIA and XVIIIA, pp. 94-6 and 35-7] . . . . .

The said Vasco Annes Corte Real requesting us to confirm to him the said grant, we, having read his petition, and desiring to show him favour and to do him a kindness, confirm it and hold it confirmed to him in the form and manner therein set forth:

<sup>1</sup> The third.

and we command that it be thus observed without further question. Done in Lisbon on the 27th day of the month of September. Peter Fernandez made this in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1522.

XLIV.

27 March, 1523.

AGREEMENT WITH GOMEZ FOR THE DISCOVERY OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE.

El Rey.

Por quanto Vos, Estevan Gomez, nuestro piloto, Por nos servir, vos offreceis de yr á descubrir el Cathayo oryental, de que teneis noticia y rrelacion, por donde hazeis fundamento descubrir hasta las nuestras yslas de Maluco, que todo cahe y es dentro de nuestros límites y demarcacion; é que yendo por el dicho camino del Catayo oriental, ay muchas yslas é províncias, hasta oy no descubiertas, de mucha rriqueza de oro, plata y especierias y droguerias; dando vos Yo ligénçia y facultad para ello, y mandando vos armar una carabela, de porte de hasta cinquenta toneles, armada y fornecida de mantenimientos por un año, y algunas mercadurias, que pueda costar, armada y puesta en horden, hasta mill y quinientos ducados, y probeyendo Vos del cargo de nuestro capitan de la dicha carabela, é otorgandovos las cosas que de yuso seran contenidas; é Yo tubelo por bien con las condigiones y declaraciones siguientes:

Primeramente, Vos doy ligénçia, para que vais á hazer el dicho viaje y descubrimiento, con tanto que no vais en los limites de la demarcacion del Serenisimo Rey de Portugal, ni muy caro y muy amado primo y hermano, ni en cosa alguna de lo que le pertenesce, salvo dentro de nuestros límites; porque nuestra voluntad es, que lo asentado y capitulado entre la corona rreal de nuestros Reinos y la de Portugal se guarde y cumpla enteramente.

Y para ello digo, que Vos mandaré armar á nuestra costa la dicha carabela del dicho porte de cinquenta toneles, y vos la mandaré bastecer y vituallar por un año, y poner en ella las mercaderías neçesarias, y vos haré nuestro capitan della, é dello vos mandaré dar nuestra provision patente en forma.

Otrosi: Por hazer merced á nuestros subditos y naturales, es mi merced y voluntad de les dar licencia y facultad, y por la presente se la doi, para que sobre lo que nos mandaremos forneger en la dicha carabela, puedan ellos armar y forneger lo que faltare para el despacho y abiamiento de la dicha carabela; y les hago merced y concedo y doy licencia para que en las quatro primeras armadas que se armaren y fueren á las tierras y partes que vos descubriereades, é por la parte que vos fueredes despues desta, puedan armar y forneger otra tanta cantidad como agora armaren, é siendo el armada maior, como se espera será, puedan contribuir en lo demas, sueldo á libra, del coste desta, á lo que las armadas que adelante fueren é se armaren por la dicha parte costare, sin que sean obligados á nos pagar por este primero viaje derecho, ni otra cosa alguna, mas de la veintena, questa hordenada para rredencion de cativos y obras pias.

Iten: Por quanto me hezistes Relacion, que pues Vos poneis en ello vuestra persona, querriades armar alguna parte en la dicha armada, de que se os rrecregiese algun provecho, é me suplicastes Vos mandase pagar adelantados dozientos ducados para en cuenta del salario que de nos teneis asentado por nuestro piloto en la cassa de la Contratacion de Sevilla, ó mandaros rrescibir por armador é compañero en la dicha armada, por ellos digo, que vos mandaré rresgibir por armador y compañero en la dicha armada por los dichos dozientos ducados, que es mi voluntad que se vos paguen adelantados, los quales se descuenten de nos de la parte que nos fornecemos, é sean para que vos gozeis dellos, é se descuenten del dicho vuestro salario, ó vos los mandaré pagar adelantados en la dicha cassa, como Vos lo suplicais.

Otrosi: Digo que Vos mandaré pagar dos lonbarderos, personas abiles y suficientes é de confianza, para que sirvan en la dicha armada.

Yten: Quiero y es mi voluntad, por que los maestros pilotos é marineros á (*sic*) las otras personas que en la dicha armada fueren, sirvan con mejor voluntad en ella, de les dar licencia, y por la presente se la doy, para que despues de rrescatadas las cossas nuestras, é de los dichos armadores que van en la dicha carabela, ellos puedan rrescatar sus caxas é quintaladas en lo que quisieren y por bien tubieren, é que delo que asi rrescataren é traxeren en las dichas sus caxas é quintaladas, hasta en valor de dozientos ducados de oro, vendidos en estos rreinos, no sean

obligados á nos pagar derechos, ni otra cosa alguna mas de la veintena parte; pero si rrescateren é truxeren mas valor de los dichos doçientos ducados, los dichos marineros é los dichos grumetes á este rrespeto, de lo demas rrestante, nos pagüen el quinto para nos, y la dicha veintena, pero entiendese que los dichos doçientos ducados de valor, lo pueden traer los marineros, pero los grumetes y pajes podran traer á este rrespeto sueldo á libra, segun lo que cada uno gana de sueldo.

Otrosi: Por caso á la yda ó á la buelta, ó en dando el dicho descubrimiento, hizieredes alguna pressa ó cavalgada, por mar ó por tierra, sacado el quinto para nos, lo demas rrestante, se haga tres partes, y la vuestra ayais Vos el dicho capitan y la gente de la dicha carabela, y las otras dos queden para nos y para los armadores della.

De lo qual Vos mandé dar y dí la presente capitulaçion, firmada de mi nombre y rrefrendada de mi ynfrascrito secretario. Fecha en Valladolid á veinte y siete dias del mes de março, de mill y quinientos y veinte y tres años= Yo el Rey=Señalada del governador maior, y Caravajal, y del dotor Beltran: rrefrendada de Cobos.

From the Archivo de Indias at Seville, estante 139, cajon 1, legajo 1, folios 30<sup>v</sup>-32, and also 139-1-6, fol. 109: printed in a modernized form in the *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, etc., de las antiguas Posesiones españolas*, XXII, 74-8. Madrid, 1874; and in J. T. Medina, *El Portugués Esteban Gómez al servicio de España*, 37-41, Santiago de Chile, 1908.

#### XLIV<sub>A</sub>.

#### The King<sup>1</sup>

Forasmuch as you, Stephen Gomez, our pilot, in order to serve us, on my giving you licence and permission for this, and ordering to be fitted out for you a caravel of about fifty tons' burden, armed and furnished with provisions for one year and with merchandise which might cost, fitted out and put in order, as much as one thousand five hundred ducats, and on my giving you the charge of our captain of the said caravel

<sup>1</sup> Charles V.

4473-10½



and granting you the things set forth below, offer to go and discover Eastern Cathay, of which you have notice and information, where you hope to discover as far as our Molucca islands, which all falls and lies within our limits and sphere of influence; and seeing that along this said route to Eastern Cathay there are many islands and provinces hitherto undiscovered, very rich in gold, silver, spices and drugs, I accepted under the following conditions and terms:

First of all I give you licence to make the said voyage and discovery on condition you do not enter the limits of the sphere of influence of the Most Serene king of Portugal, my very dear and much beloved cousin and brother<sup>1</sup>, nor approach any of his possessions, but only within our limits; because our wish is that the agreement and covenant between the royal crown of our kingdoms and that of Portugal be observed and carried out in full.

And for this I say that I shall order the said caravel of the said burden of fifty tons to be fitted out for you, and shall order it to be provisioned and victualled for you for one year, and the necessary goods to be placed on board, and shall appoint you our captain thereof; and for this I shall order you to be given our letters patent in due form.

Furthermore, to show favour to our subjects and people, it is my will and wish to give them licence and permission, and by these present I give it to them, that besides what we shall order to be placed in the said caravel, they may provide and furnish whatever may be wanting for the despatch and fitting out of the said caravel; and I grant and permit and give licence that in the first four fleets fitted out and sent to the lands and regions that you may discover and where you may afterwards go, they may fit out and furnish a similar quantity to that now furnished; and if the fleet be larger, as it is hoped it will be, they may contribute to the rest, one penny per pound, of the expense of the fleets afterwards to be sent and fitted out for the said region, without being obliged to pay to us for this first voyage any duty or other charge whatever more than the twentieth part, which is designed for redemption of captives and pious works.

Moreover, forasmuch as you informed me that since you

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<sup>1</sup> John III. of Portugal was the son of Charles V's aunt Maria, and married his sister Catalina.

are venturing your person in this enterprise, you would like to provide some portion of the cost, by which you may recover some gain, and have asked me to order you to be paid in advance two hundred ducats of the salary you receive from us as our pilot in the Casa de la Contratacion at Seville, or to order you to be received as shareholder and partner in the said fleet, regarding this, I say that I shall order you to be received as shareholder and partner in the said fleet to the amount of the said two hundred ducats, which it is my will should be paid to you in advance, which are to be deducted from the portion we are furnishing; and you are to profit by them and they are to be deducted from your said salary, or I shall order them to be paid to you in advance at the said Casa, as you ask.

Furthermore I declare that I shall order two artillery-men to be provided for you, persons both expert, qualified and trustworthy, to serve in the said fleet.

Moreover, I desire and it is my wish, in order that the masters, pilots, sailors and other persons who go in the said fleet may serve in her with better will, to give them licence and by these presents I give it to them, that, after our goods and those of the said partners on board the said caravel have been traded, they may barter whatever is in their chests and their hat-money for whatever they wish and find suitable; and that on whatever they may thus barter and bring back in the said chests and with their hat-money, to the value of two hundred gold ducats when sold in these kingdoms, they be not obliged to pay us dues nor any other charge more than the twentieth part; but should the sailors and the said ship's-boys barter and bring back things of more value than the said two hundred ducats, they must pay us one-fifth of the remainder, as well as the said twentieth part; but it is understood in regard to the two hundred ducats that though the sailors may bring back this amount the ship's-boys and pages will only bring back one penny in the pound according to the wages of each.

Furthermore in case in going or coming, or in the course of the said discovery, you should make any capture or prize, by sea or land, the fifth part having been taken for us, the remainder shall be divided into three portions, and you, the said captain, and the crew of the said caravel shall have yours, and the other two are for us and for the partners of the same.

For the which I ordered you to be given and gave you the present agreement signed with my name and countersigned by me, the undersigned secretary. Given at Valladolid on the twenty-seventh day of the month of March one thousand five hundred and twenty-three. I the King. Signed by the Governador Maior and by Caravajal and by Dr. Beltran; countersigned by Cobos.

#### XLV.

27 March 1523.

#### THE APPOINTMENT OF GOMEZ AS CAPTAIN.

EL REY.—Don Carlos, etc. Por quanto nos abemos mandado tomar cierto asiento y concierto con vos Esteban Gomez, nuestro piloto, para que váis á descubrir el Catayo Oriental, de que tenéis noticia é relación, por el mar Océano, é para haser el dicho viaje, os abemos mandado armar una carabela con la gente é mantenimientos é otras cosas necesarias para el dicho viaje; por ende, confiando de vos que soys tal persona que guardaréys nuestro servicio, é que bien é fiel é diligentemente entenderéis en lo que por nos vos fuere mandado y encomendado, es nuestra merced y voluntad de vos nombrar é por la presente vos nombramos por nuestro capitán, é vos damos poder é facultad para que por el tiempo que en ella anduvierdes, hasta que con la bendición de Nuestro Señor bolváis á estos reynos, podáys usar é uséys del dicho oficio de nuestro capitán della, asy por mar como por tierra, por vos é por vuestro lugarteniente, en los casos y cosas al dicho oficio anexos é pertenecientes, é vierdes que conviene á la execución de la nuestra justicia é bien é utilidad de las tierras é yslas que descubrierdes, segund é de la manera que hasta aquy lo han usado los nuestros capitanes de la mar que han seydo; é por esta nuestra carta mandamos á los maestros, contramaestres, pilotos é marineros, gente que en la dicha armada fueren, é á qualesquier personas que estovieren é resydieren en las dichas tierras é yslas que descubriérdes, y á quien lo en esta nuestra carta contenido toca é atañe é atañer puede en qualquier manera, que vos ayan é reciban é tengan por nuestro capitán, é como á tal os acaten é cumplan vuestros mandamyentos, so la pena é penas que vos de nuestra parte les pusyerdes é mandáredes poner, las quales nos por la presente les ponemos é abemos por puestas, é vos damos poder é facultad

para las executar en sus personas y bienes; é que vos guarden é fagan guardar todas las honras, gracias, mercedes, franquezas é libertades, preheminencias, prerrogativas é ynmunydades que por razón de ser nuestro capitán debéys é gozar é vos deben ser guardadas; é es nuestra merced é mandamos que si en el tiempo que anduvierdes en la dicha armada, se movieren algunos pleytos y diferencias, asy en la mar como en la tierra, los podáys librar y determynar é hacer sobre ello complimiento de justicia brebe é sumariamente, sin estrépitu ni figura de juicio; que para librar y determynar los dichos pleytos é para todo lo demás en esta nuestra carta contenydo é al dicho oficio de capitán anexo é concerniente, vos damos poder y facultad por esta nuestra carta, con todas sus yncidencias é dependencias, anexidades é conexidades, é los unos ny los otros no fagades ny fagan ende al, so pena de la nuestra merced é de diez mill maravedis para nuestra cámara á cada uno que lo contrario hiciere. Dada en la villa de Valladolid, á veintysiete dias del mes de marzo, año del nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo de mil y quinientos y veinte y tres años.—YO EL REY.—En las espaldas desta provisyón estaban los nombres siguientes: Hernando de Vega, comendador mayor, doctor Carvajal, el doctor Beltrán.—Refrendada de Cobos.

From the Archivo de Indias, est. 139, leg. 1, caj. 6, tomo IX, fol 108<sup>v</sup>: printed in Medina; op. cit., Documentos, II, 130-33.

#### XLVA.

The King. Don Carlos, etc. Forasmuch as we have commanded a certain contract and agreement to be made with you, Stephen Gomez, our pilot, that by way of the ocean you may go and discover Eastern Cathay, whereof you have notice and information, and in order to undertake the said voyage, we have ordered a caravel to be fitted out for you with the crew and provisions and other things necessary for the said voyage; wherefore having confidence in you as a proper person who will be careful of our service and will well and faithfully and diligently carry out what we shall order and commit to you, it is our will and pleasure to appoint you and by these presents we do appoint you our captain, and give you power and authority to use and make use of the said office of our captain during



the period of the said voyage, until by God's grace you may return to these kingdoms, both on sea and on land, by yourself and your lieutenant, in the cases and matters belonging to and connected with the said office, and which you may consider as belonging to the execution of our justice and to the welfare and utility of the lands and islands you may discover, in the form and manner which our sea captains have hitherto used; and by these letters we command the masters, quartermasters, pilots and sailors, people who may sail in the said expedition and any persons who may visit or reside in the said lands and islands by you discovered, and to whom the contents of these letters pertain and relate and may in any manner pertain, to consider and receive and regard you as our captain, and to acknowledge you as such, and to carry out your orders, on pain of the punishment and punishments which in our name you may inflict and may order to be inflicted, which we by these presents inflict and hold to be inflicted on them, and we give you power and authority to carry out these on their persons and goods.

And they are to respect and to cause to be respected all the honours, graces, favours, franchises and liberties, advantages, prerogatives and immunities which, by virtue of being our captain, you should enjoy and which should be observed in your behalf.

And it is our pleasure and we command that should any lawsuits and differences arise during the time you are absent on the said expedition, either at sea or on land, you may decide and settle them and cause justice to be done in each case quickly and summarily without clamour or formal tribunal; that in order to decide and determine the said lawsuits and to carry out all else set forth in these letters of ours belonging and pertaining to the said office of captain, we give you power and authority by these our letters, with all its incidences and dependences, annexed and connexed, and neither these nor those shall do anything to the contrary on pain of our displeasure and of 10,000 maravedis for our Exchequer from each who shall do the contrary. Given in our city of Valladolid on the twenty-seventh day of the month of March, in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1523.—I the King. On the back of this instrument were the following names: Ferdinand de Vega, knight commander. Dr. Carvajal. Dr. Beltran.—Countersigned by Cobos.

XLVI.

14 April 1523.

REWARDS PROMISED TO GOMEZ ON HIS RETURN.

EL REY.—Por quanto vos Esteban Gómez, nuestro piloto, por nos servyr, vos habéis ofrecido de yr á descubril el Catayo Oriental, y sobrello habemos mandado tomar con vos cierto asyento é capitulación, como más largo en él se contiene, é vos al presente no me suplicastes cosa alguna de que nos hiciese merced en enmienda é remuneración de vuestro trabajo, por la presente, acatando la voluntad con que vos habéis movido á Nos servyr, y el peligro que se vos ofrece en el dicho viaje, digo y prometo por my palabra real, que á la vuelta que en buena ora bolyáis del dicho descubrimyento, vos haré las mercedes que vuestros servycios merecen: de lo cual vos mandé dar y di la presente, firmada de my nombre y refrendada demi ynfrascripto secretario. Fecha en Valladolid á catorce dias del mes de Abril de mill é quinientos y veinte y tres años.—YO EL REY. Señalada de Carvajal.—Refrendada de Cobos.

From the Archivo de Indias, est. 139, leg. 1, caj. 6, lib. IX, fol. 120: printed in Medina, *op. cit.*, 56.

XLVIA.

The King.—Forasmuch as you, Stephen Gomez, our pilot, in order to do us service, have offered to go and discover Eastern Cathay, and to this end we have ordered a certain contract and agreement to be made with you, as is more fully set out in the same,<sup>1</sup> and as at present you have not asked any favour of me in reward and recompense of your labour, by these presents, in acknowledgment of the good will you have shown to do us service, and of the danger you are incurring in the said voyage, I state and promise on my royal word, that on your return from the said discovery at a seasonable time, I shall grant you the reward which your services deserve, in proof of which I ordered you to be given and gave you these presents signed with my name and countersigned by my undermentioned secretary. Done at Valladolid on the fourteenth day of April, 1523. I the King. Signed by Carvajal. Countersigned by Cobos.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. pp. 145-50 *supra*.

## XLVII.

14 April 1523.

ROYAL ORDER TO CHRISTOPHER DE HARO TO FIT OUT GOMEZ'S  
CARAVEL.

EL REY.—Cristóbal de Haro, nuestro factor de la Casa de la Contratación de la Sp<sup>a</sup>. Ya sabéys cómo conforme al asiento é capitulación que mandamos tomar con Esteban Gómez, nuestro piloto, sobre el descubrimiento del Catayo Oriental, nos somos obligados de le dar una carabela de hasta cinquenta toneles, armada y bastecida por un año que se hizo fundamento que podria costar hasta mill é quinientos ducados, y, como sabéys, después se platicó que nos pusiésemos dellos los setecientos y cinquenta ducados, porque lo demás restante de los dichos mill é quinientos ducados lo ponyan mercaderes y arinadores y otras personas que en la dicha armada querian contribuir; por ende, yo vos mando que luego entendáys en proveer y armar la dicha carabela, conforme el dicho asyento é capitulación, y de qualesquier maravedis de vuestro cargo, gastéys en ella los dichos setecientos é cinquenta ducados de oro; y porque, como sabéys, conviene que se parta con toda brevedad, porque no se detenga, vos mando que para en cuenta de los dichos setecientos y cinquenta ducados, hagáys dar de los bastimentos é bituallas que por nuestro mandado hacen en la Coruña, Francisco Mexia y Bernaldino Meléndez, lo que fuese menester para avituallar y bastecer la dicha carabela, y pues vos sabéys que cumple á nuestro servycio que la dicha carabela se parta con toda brevedad, vos mando y encargo que entendáys en ello con mucha diligencia. De Valladolid á catorce de Abril de mill é quinientos y veinte y tres años.—YO EL REY.—Señalada de Carvajal.—Refrendada de Cobos.

From the Archivo de Indias, est. 139, leg. 1, caj. 6, lib. IX, fol. 121: printed in Medina, op. cit., 53-4.

## XLVIIA.

The King.—Christopher de Haro, our factor for the Spicery Trading-house. You have heard already how in conformity with the contract and agreement which we ordered to be

concluded with Stephen Gomez, our pilot, in regard to the discovery of Eastern Cathay, we are under obligation to give him a caravel of 50 tons' burthen, fitted out and provisioned for one year, which it was estimated might cost as much as 1,500 ducats; and, as you are aware, it has since been agreed that we should furnish 750 of these ducats, since merchants and ship-owners and other persons who were desirous of contributing to the said expedition were furnishing the remainder of the said 1,500 ducats; wherefore I direct you to employ yourself at once in getting ready and fitting out the said caravel, in accordance with the said contract and agreement, and you are to expend the said 750 gold ducats out of any funds whatever of your office; and since it is to our interest, as you are aware, that the departure take place as soon as possible, and that no delay occur, I command you in payment of the said 750 ducats to take from the supplies and provisions which by our order Francis Mexia and Bernard Melendez are preparing at Corunna, whatever is necessary to provision and supply the said caravel, and since you know that it is in the interest of our service that the said caravel should leave as soon as possible, I command and charge you to employ yourself in this with much diligence. At Valladolid, 14 April 1523. I the King: signed by Carvajal: countersigned by Cobos.

### XLVIII.

14 April 1523.

ROYAL ORDER TO THE SEA-COAST TOWNS TO AID IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF GOMEZ'S CARAVEL.

EL REY.—Nuestro corregidor de las tres villas de la costa de la mar, é concejos, justicias, regidores, caballeros, hijosdalgo de las dichas tres villas de la costa de la mar, é á cada uno de vos en vuestros lugares é jurediciones é á quien esta my carta fuere mostrada. Sabed que Nos abemos mandado á Esteban Gómez, nuestro piloto, que haga una carabela de porte de hasta cinquenta toneles para yr á cierto descubrimiento que él por nuestro mandado ha de hacer, la qual conviene á nuestro servycio que se haga y parta con toda brebedad; por ende, yo vos mando á todos y á cada uno de vos en vuestros lugares é



juradiciones que déys é hagáys dar al dicho Esteban Gómez toda la madera, clavazón é jarcias é todas las otras cosas que hobiere menester para hacer y enxarciar la dicha carabela, pagando por ello lo que justamente valiere, é asynysmo le hagáis dar todos los maestros carpinteros, carafates é todo lo demás que obiere menester para hacer la dicha carabela, pagándoles por ello su justo é debido salario, é en todo lo demás é que el dicho Esteban Gómez hobiere menester, le ayudéys é favorezcáys como en cosa de nuestra servycio. Dada en Valladolid á catorce dias del mes de Abril de mill é quinientos y viente e tres años.—YO EL REY.—Señalada de Carvajal.—Refrendada de Cobos.

From the Archivo de Indias, est. 139, leg. 1, caj. 6, lib. IX, fol. 120<sup>v</sup>: printed in Medina, op. cit., 58-9.

#### XLVIII A.

The King.—Our corregidor of the Three Towns of the sea-coast,<sup>1</sup> and councils, justices, aldermen, noblemen, hidalgos of the said Three Towns of the sea-coast, and to each of you in your stations and jurisdictions and to whom these letters of mine may be shown: Know that we have commanded Stephen Gomez, our pilot, to construct a caravel of the burthen of 50 tons to go on a certain discovery which at our order he has to undertake, and it is in the interest of our service that this be carried out and a departure be made with all speed: wherefore I command all and each of you in your stations and jurisdictions to give and cause to be given to the said Stephen Gomez all the wood, nails and tackle and all else that may be necessary to construct and fit out the said caravel, paying for this whatever it may properly be worth, and likewise to cause him to be furnished with all the master carpenters, calkers and all the others who may be necessary for the construction of the said caravel, paying them for this their just and due salary, and in all else that the said Stephen Gomez may find necessary, to aid and assist him as in a matter pertaining to our service. Given in Valladolid on the fourteenth day of April, 1523. I the King: signed by Carvajal: countersigned by Cobos.

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<sup>1</sup> These appear to have been Bermeo, Bilbao and Durango.

XLIX.

14 April 1523.

ROYAL ORDER TO THE TOWNS OF BISCAY TO AID GOMEZ.

EL REY.—Concejos, justicias, regidores, caballeros y hijosdalgo de todas las cibdades, villas é lugares del nuestro noble y leal condado y señorío de Vizcaya, encartación é tierra llana, é á cada uno de vos en vuestros lugares é jurediciones á quien esta my carta fuera mostrada. Sabed que nos hemos mandado á Esteban Gómez, nuestro piloto, que haga una carabela de porte de hasta cinquenta toneles para yr á cierto descubrimiento que él por nuestro mandado ha de hacer, la qual conviene à nuestro servycio que se haga y parta con toda brebedad; por ende, yo vos mando á todos é á cada uno de vos en vuestros lugares é jurediciones que déys é hagáys dar al dicho Esteban Gómez toda la madera, clavazón, xarcias é todas las otras cosas que obiere menester para hacer enxarciar la dicha carabela, pagando por ello lo que justamente valiere, é asymysmo le hagáys dar todo los maestros carpinteros, calafates é todo lo demás que obiere menester para hacer la dicha carabela, pagándoles por ello su justo é debido salario, é en todo lo demás é que el dicho Esteban Gómez hobiere menester, le ayudéys é favorezcáys como en cosa de nuestro servycio. Fecha en Valladolid á catorce dias del mes de Abril de mill é quinientos y veinte é tres años.—YO EL REY.—Refrendada de Cobos.—Señalada de Carvajal.

From the Archivo de Indias, est. 139, caj. 1, leg. 6, lib. IX, fol. 120<sup>v</sup>: printed in Medina, *op. cit.*, 59-60.

XLIXA.

The King.—Councils, justices, aldermen, noblemen and hidalgos of all the cities, towns and villages of our noble and loyal county and seigniorie of Biscay, places adjoining and flat land, and to each of you in your stations and jurisdictions to whom these letters of mine may be shown, know that we have commanded Stephen Gomez, our pilot, to construct a caravel of 50 tons' burthen to go on a certain discovery which he at our order has to undertake, and it is to the interest of our service that this be done and a departure be made with all speed:

wherefore I command all and each of you in your stations and jurisdictions to give and to cause to be given to the said Stephen Gomez all the wood, nails, tackle and all the other things that may be necessary to fit out the said caravel, paying for this whatever it may properly be worth, and likewise to cause him to be given all the master carpenters, calkers and all else that may be necessary for the construction of the said caravel, paying them for this their just and due salary, and in all else that the said Stephen Gomez may find necessary, to aid and assist him as in a matter pertaining to our service. Done in Valladolid on the fourteenth of April, 1523. I the King: signed by Cobos: countersigned by Carvajal.

L.

10 July 1523.

ROYAL ORDER FOR THE PAYMENT TO GOMEZ OF TWO HUNDRED  
DUCATS.

EL REY.—Nuestros Oficiales que residís en la cibdad de Sevilla, en la Casa de la Contratación de las Indias. Porque yo he mandado á Esteban Gómez, nuestro piloto desa Casa, que vaya en una nuestra carabela á cierto descubrimiento, y conforme á cierto asiento que con él sobre ello mandé tomar, yo soy obligado á le mandar pagar dozientos ducados adelantados del salario que de nos tiene para se aderezar y poner en la dicha carabela y armazón: por ende, yo vos mando que en cuenta del salario que de nos tiene asentado en esa Casa, como dicho es, déys é paguéys al dicho Esteban Gómez ó á quien su poder obiere, los dichos dozientos ducados adelantados, los quales vos mando que le váys descontando del primer salario que hobiere de haber, é no fagades ende al. Fecho en Valladolid á diez dias del mes de Julio de mill é quinientos é veinte é tres años.—Refrendada de Cobos.—Señalada de Carvajal y Beltrán.

From the Archivo de Indias, est. 139, leg. 1, caj. 6, lib. IX, fol. 176: printed in Medina, op. cit., 54-55.

LA.

The King.—Our officers who reside at the Indian Counting-house in the city of Seville.<sup>1</sup> Forasmuch as I have commanded Stephen Gomez, our pilot of this House, to go on a certain dis-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Report of the American Historical Association for 1894*, pp. 93-123, Washington, 1895.

covery in a caravel of ours, and in conformity with a certain agreement that I ordered to be made with him in this matter, I am obliged to direct that 200 ducats be paid to him in advance out of the salary he receives from us, in order that he may make his preparations and set about fitting out the said caravel; wherefore, I order you, out of the salary he receives from us in this House, as already stated, to give and pay in advance to the said Stephen Gomez or to his attorney the said 200 ducats, which I direct you to deduct from the first wages due to him, and do not do the contrary. Done at Valladolid on the tenth day of the month of July, 1523. Countersigned by Cobos: signed by Carvajal and Beltran.

LI.

21 August 1523.

LA ROCHELLE VESSELS AT NEWFOUNDLAND.

Personnellement estably Jehan Le Moyne, lequel a constitué ses procureurs Jacques Hemé<sup>1</sup> et Thomas Mannoury, de Marennnes<sup>2</sup>, et chascun d'eulx pour le tout, en forme de plaidoirie et pouvoir especial de proceder et recevoir de Yvon Le Fleuchier, dit Piedecerf, maistre du navire nommé *La Marie* du Croisie, le droict des vitailles que ledit Le Moyne luy a baillees, comme appert par obligation passée par Jehan Mosnier, le xvii<sup>e</sup> de juing derrier passé, du tout en apoincter, etc. En oultre de recevoir sa quotité des moulues, huilles, gaings et prouffits des navires qu'il a aydez à avitailler pour aller à la Terre Neufve, et d'en bailher quictances. Faict en presences de Pierre Le Géret, Jehan Quynault et Loys Ayrault, clercs, les jour et an susdits.<sup>3</sup>

From the Archives départementales de la Charente-Inférieure at La Rochelle, brouillon des minutes de Jacques Hémon, notaire, fol. 48: unpublished. Attention was first drawn to these papers by Monsieur Musset in his essay on *Les Rochelais à Terre-Neuve* in the *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive*, Paris, 1892; reprinted at La Rochelle, 1899, pp. 29-30.

<sup>1</sup> Or Hervé.

<sup>2</sup> A town near Rochefort.

<sup>3</sup> The date of the preceding document is 21 August, 1523.



## LII.

15 September, 1523.

THE 'CATHERINE' OF BINIC, THE 'MARGUERITE' OF PORNIC  
AND OTHER VESSELS AT NEWFOUNDLAND.

Personnellement<sup>1</sup> establiz Pierre Jourdain, le jeune, marchant et bourgeois de La Rochelle, tant en son nom<sup>2</sup> [que]<sup>3</sup> comme soy faisant et portant fort pour André Morisson, son parsonnier, a constitué leurs procureurs généraulx, honorables et sages, discrètes, etc. ....<sup>3</sup> Et ledit Denibault et chacun d'eulx en forme de plaidoyrie, et par especial ledit Jourdain, pour luy et pour ledit Morisson, sondit parsonnier, a donné auctorité et puissance, ayde et bailh de prandre et recevoir leur droit, part et portion de la pesche, huilles, gaings et prouffictz que ont faiet Michel Tredieu, maistre empres Dieu de *La Catherine* de Benic en Bretagne, et ses compaignons, en le voiaige de la Terre Neufve; à quoy lesdits Jourdain et Morisson estoient associez, selon la chartre partie passée entre eulx par mesme notaire que sont ces presentes, le xiiii<sup>e</sup> jour d'apvril dernier passé; Et aussi de recevoir de Guillaume Le Gludic, maistre de *La Marguerite* de Pornix et de tous aultres maistres de navires et leurs compaignons, puydavant frectez par lesdicts Jordan et Morisson pour aller à la pesche de la Terre Neufve, leur droict et cotité des pesches, huilles, gaings et prouffictz qu'ilz ont faicts en leurs voiaiges de la Terre Neufve, selon qu'ilz estoient associez par lesditz maistres de navire, selon les chartres parties sur ce faictes et passées auparavant; Et aussi de recevoir desdits maistres de navires et de leurs compaignons toutes et chascunes les moullues que leur ont vendues auparavant leur partade<sup>4</sup>; Et aussi de recevoir desdictz maistres de navires toutes et chascunes les pièces d'artillerie et munitions de guerre que lesdits Jourdain et Morisson baillèrent auxdits maistres de navires et compaignons d'eulx, pour eulx deffendre en leurdit voiage. Et desdits pesches, huilles, gaings, prouffictz, moullues et poissons venduez par lesdits maistres, lesdits Jourdain et Morisson, ensemble desdites artillerie et munitions de guerre, en donner et octroyer par ledit Thebault, procureur susdict, auxdits maistres de navires et aultres qu'il apartiendra, quictances bonnes et

<sup>1</sup> The words *et Durant Buchet* were first written here and then erased for *tant en son nom*.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in the MS.

<sup>3</sup> Blank in the MS.

<sup>4</sup> Or *partance*.

valables; Et faire en tout et partout comme lesdits Jourdain et Morisson feroient faire, pouroient et devroient, si presens en leurs propres personnes y estoient pardevants le juré, juge, etc. Faict en La Rochelle ès presences de Jehan Joubert, dit filz de maistre, et Bastien Roy, clerc, le xv<sup>me</sup> jour de septembre, l'an MV<sup>c</sup>XXIII<sup>1</sup>.

From the Archives départementales of the Charente-Inférieure, minutes of Hémon, fols. 68<sup>v</sup>-69: unpublished.

LIII.

15 October, 1523.

THE 'MARGUERITE' OF BLAVET AT NEWFOUNDLAND.

Personnellement establiz Jehan Boisseau, marchant et bourgeois de La Rochelle, lequel a constitué ses procureurs . . . . .<sup>2</sup> François Pigault, son facteur, ou l'un d'eulx pour le tout, en forme de plaidoirie, et par spécialement auctorité et puyssance audit Pigault, de demander, prandre et recevoir de Allain Feullagat, maistre empres Dieu du navire nommé *La Margaritte* de Blavet, et des compaignons et maryniers et autres qu'il appartiendra, tout le droict qui appartient audit Boeceau, consistant en la pesche, moulues, huilles, gaing et prouffict que ledit Feullagat et ses compaignons ont faict ceste présente année en leur voiaige de la Terre Neufve, que ledit Boeceau et Jehan Lemoyne, aussi marchand et bourgeois en La Rochelle, avoient freté pour aller à la pesche à la Terre Neufve, et le tout scellon l'assocation, en quoy ledit Fellagat assocya lesdits Boesseau et Le Moyne par leurs chartres parties passées entre eulx, par mesme notaire que sont ces présentes, le xxvi<sup>e</sup> jour de mars derrier passé. Et oultre, ledit constituant a donné auctorité et puyssance audit Pigault, sondit facteur, de recevoir dudit Fellagat sa moytié de deux milliers et troys carts de millier de moulues, dont est fete mencion en ladite chartre partie, Et aussy sa moictié de demy millier de moulues, que ledit Fellagat a promis leur vandre, comme appert par lettres passées par mesme notaire que sont ces présentes, le derrier jour de mars aussi derrier passé. Et outre a donné puyssance audit Pigault de citer, assigner et appoincter avecques ledit Feullagat, Yvon Crever, contremaistre dudit navire et ses plaidgants ou l'un

<sup>1</sup> On the margin is written: "Nota que ledit Jourdain a consenti qu'il soyt faict plusieurs pouvoirs en forme de plaidoiries."

<sup>2</sup> Plank in the MS.

d'eux sellon bon et vallable forme, etc. Faict ès présences de Nycolas Pocheau et Bastien Roy, le xv<sup>e</sup> jour d'octobre, l'an mil cinq cens XXIII.

From the Archives départementales of the Charente-Inférieure, minutes of Hémon, notaire, fol. 105<sup>v</sup>: unpublished.

## LIV.

22 October, 1523.

## THE 'MARGUERITE' OF ST. BRIEUC AT NEWFOUNDLAND.

Personnellement establiz Jehan Tredian, maistre empres Dieu de *La Marguerite* de Saint Brieux, lequel a promis à Yvon Bonsoul, Estienne Lauret et Gilles Galvan, compagnons et mariniers dudit navire, stipulans et acceptans pour eulx et leurs compagnons absens, de leur garder et rendre leur tierce partie de la pesche, huilles, gaings et prouffietz qu'ilz ont faict en leur voiaige de la Terre Neufve, selon le cours de la mer, et leur garder leurs droiets et prouffietz, comme s'ilz y estoient en leurs propres personnes, Et ad ce fayre et accomplir et ad oultre ledit comparant a engagé ses biens pour faire, etc. Faict en La Rochelle, en presence de Lambert Bardet, Mathurin Marteau et Bastien Roy, le xxii<sup>e</sup> jour d'octobre V<sup>e</sup>XXIII.

From the Archives départementales of the Charente-Inférieure, minutes of Hémon, notaire, fol. 118<sup>v</sup>: unpublished.

## LV.

January, 1524.

NOTICE OF THE CAPTURE OF A FRENCH VESSEL RETURNING FROM  
NEWFOUNDLAND.

## List of Capt. Christ. Coo's Prizes.

## (1)

Memorandum that here folowith all suche prisys as Christopher Coo have taken upon the see syns my departure out of the Temys, that was the xxiii<sup>th</sup> day of January in the xiii yere of kynge Henry the VIII<sup>th</sup> [1522] unto my present tyme and dey of my discharge out of the kynges wages. . . . .

*In the kynges handes.*

Item taken in the Cost of Normandy a shipp of Rouen w<sup>t</sup> xi men laden w<sup>t</sup> new fownd londe fysche, containing ix thousand, delyvered to William Couston prised at £120.

(3)

Here after ensewith all suche charges as Christofer Coo have sustayned at his proper costes and charge to serve the kyng in his wares. . . . .

Item the said Christopher demandeth for the helynge and keynge of xvi men hort at the wyngnyng of the new fownde londe men at ii cronys the pies, £6 xviiiis.

From the Public Record Office, Letters and Papers of Henry VIII., vol. 30, pp. 96 and 98. Cf. *Calendar*, Vol. IV, pt. I, No. 83 (1) and (3).

LVI.

6 February 1527.

A BAYONNE VESSEL FOR NEWFOUNDLAND.

A Vous, Tres Honnorables Seinhors, Messeinhors Los Loc-  
tenent, Esclevins et Conseilh de la Ciutat de Bayonne:

Supplique tres-humblement Berthomyu de Montausier, vesin de le presente ciutat, disen que ed a affreytat son nabiū per anar au plaser de Diu a les Terres Nabes, a le pesque, Et cum sie ainchi, que per far lodit viadge sien vesoinh plusors causes, es neccessary enter autres aver vingt et quotate pippes de pomades, lesquoaus lodit suppliant a au pays de Seinhanxs, et les volere far meetre fens sondit nabiū, si a vous, avanditz seinhors, plagosse, o bien les vingt pippes et en prendre quotate pippes de le presente ciutat, Et de en prendre daventadge no luy es possible per cause que lodit suppliant no a punt d'argent, o si autrementz far lo volossetz constreinhe, lodit suppliant avre a sercar argent au camby, que sere en son grand prejudice et dommadge. So considerat, lodit suppliant vous pregue, sup-  
plique et requer a vous, avanditz seinhors, luy donnar llicenci et permission de poder prendre lesdites vingt et quotate pippes de pomades en le maneyre susdite, Et en so fasen feratz bien, et lodit suppliant sera tingud pregar Diu per vostres nobles estemens.



Viste le presente requeste, ordennat es estat que lodit suppliant [prenera]<sup>1</sup> los dus ters de sa provision de le pomade de le franquesse avant que lo nabiu parti deu port, et so feyt se retirera devert monseinhor lo Loctenant qui visitera o fera visiter ledite pomade, et ampres lodit suppliant poyra cargar lo restant. Feyt en conseilh, lo chiseme de fevrer, mil cinq cens vingt et chieis.

DAYMAR, greffier.

From the Archives Municipales de Bayonne, Série BB 6, fols. 641-2: printed in *Archives municipales de Bayonne, Déliverations du Corps de Ville, Registres gascons*, II, 461-2.

#### LVI A.

To You Most Honourable Sirs, Messrs. the Lieutenant, Sheriffs and Council of the city of Bayonne:

Bartholemew de Montausier, citizen of the present city, makes very humble petition, setting forth how he has loaded his ship to go, at God's pleasure, to Newfoundland for fish, and this being so, in order to undertake the said voyage several things are wanting. Among others it is necessary to have twenty-four butts of cider, which the said petitioner possesses at Seinhanxs<sup>2</sup>, and he would like to have them put on board his said vessel if you, Sirs aforesaid, are willing; or even twenty butts, and to take four butts from the present city; and it is not possible for him to take more for the reason that the said petitioner has no money; or if you should wish to force him to do otherwise, the said petitioner would have to procure money on change, which would be to his prejudice and harm. In consideration of which the said supplicant begs, petitions and asks you, Sirs aforesaid, to grant him licence and permission to be allowed to take the said twenty-four butts of cider in the manner aforesaid; and in doing this you will be doing well, and the said petitioner will be under obligation to pray God for your noble estates.

The present request having been read, it has been ordered that the said petitioner [take] two-thirds of his cider from that free from duty, before the ship leaves port, and this done, he shall come before My Lord the Lieutenant who will examine or cause the said cider to be examined: and afterwards the said

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Cénac.

petitioner will be allowed to load the rest. Done in council the sixth of February one thousand five hundred and twenty-six (1527 n. st.).

DAYMAR, clerk.

LVII.

November 1527.

AN ENGLISH EXPEDITION IN SEARCH OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE.

*La rrelacion que se ovo de la nao ynglesa quando estovo en la ysla de la Mona<sup>1</sup> que venia de camino para la ysla española.*

Questando el martes pasado, que se contaron diez e nueve dias deste presente mes de novienbre, cargando la dicha caravela de caçabe, allegó una nao de dosyentos é ginquenta toneles de porte, de tres gaviás, é creyendo que hera nao despaña, salió con su batel a ella, y ellos salieron con una pinaça que trayan, que bogava veynte e cinco ó treynta rremos, é venian en ella fasta veynte gincos honbres con el maestre de la dicha nao, el qual venia por maestre y capitan, é todos venian armados de coseletes y arcos e frechas y algunos ballestas, e dos lonbardas en la proa con sus mecheros encendidos; los quales llegados a ellos, él les preguntó, de qué tierra eran? E dixéronle que heran yngleses de dentro de la cibdad de Londres, y que la nao era del rrey de Ynglaterra. Preguntóles, qué venian á buscar en estas partes? Dixerónle quel rrey avia armado aquella nao y otra para yr a descubrir la tierra del Gran Can, y que yendo, les dió un tenporal en el camino, que se perdió la una de la otra, por manera que nunca mas la habia visto, e que ellos siguieron su viaje e dieron en un mar elado, é que hallavan yslas grandes de yelo, e no pudiendo por alli pasar, tomaron otra derrota e dieron en otra mar caliente como una caldera quando hierve con agua; é por miedo que aquella agua no les derrtiesra la pez de la nao, se bolvieron é vinyeron a Reconoscer a los Vacallaos, donde hallaron bien cinquenta naos, castellanas y francesas e portuguesas, pescando, é que alli quisieron salir en tierra por tomar lengua de los yndios, e saliendo en tierra, les mataron los yndios al piloto, el qual dixerón que hera piamontés de naçion; e de alli partieron, e vinieron la costa de la tierra nueva, donde fué a pob-

<sup>1</sup> The island of Mona lies half way between San Domingo and Porto Rico, about thirty miles from each.

lar Aÿllon, quatrocientas leguas y mas, e de alli atravesaron e vinieron a reconocer a esta ysla de San Juan; e preguntóles que qué buscavan en estas ystas? E dixéronle que querian ver estas yslas para dar Raçon dellas al rrey de Ynglaterra, é vistas, cargar de brasyl é bolverse; e preguntaron por la derrota de Santo Domingo, é por el puerto e quien governaba la ysla; que querian yr alla a bella; y él se lo dixo todo. Ellos lo pusyeron por memoria; y el maestre de la nao ynglesa rrogó al Ginés Navarro, que fuese a ver su nao, el qual fué é la vido toda; e que no traya en ella otra cosa syno vino é harina é cosas de provisyon, y algunas cosas de rrescate de paños y lienços y otras cosas, y mucha artilleria e buena; e que traen carpinteros e herreros e fragua y otros oficiales, y aparejo de hazer otros navios, sy tuviesen dello necesydad, é un horno donde cuezan pan; e que toda la gente que en la nao venia, qué l vido, serian fasta sesenta personas; dize que el maestre de la nao le preguntó, sy sabia leer en latin o en romance, por que le queria mostrar la ynstrucion que traya del rrey de Ynglaterra; é como no sabia leer, no la vido; é quel maestre é fasta veynte e cinco o treynta onbres salieron en tierra en la Mona, y estuvieron alli fasta el miercoles en la tarde, e salieron todos armados, que se embarcaron para Santo Domingo; y que el jueves de mañana tiraron dos tiros de lonbarda e tocaron una tronpeta bastarda que trayan, e se hizieron a la vela e fueron la via de Santo Domingo fasta que los perdieron de vista; y el dicho Ginés Navarro estobo en la Mona hasta el viernes que se vino a esta ysla.

Este treslado se sacó del original que se ynbio a esta Real abdiencia de la ysla de San Juan, la quel se ovo de un maestre de una caravela questava en la ysla de la Mona al tiempo que la nao ynglesa pasó por alli de camino para este puerto de Santo Domingo.=Diego Cavallo.

Endorsed: En Madrid xi de Março de 1528.

From the Archivo de Indias at Seville, Patronato, est. 2, caj. 5 leg. ½<sup>o</sup>; printed in the *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organizacion de las antiguas Posesiones españolas*, etc. 1st series, XXXVII, 456-8. Madrid, 1882; *ibid.* 2nd series, IV, No. 120, pp. 57-60.

LVIIA.

*The Statement obtained from the English ship when at the Island of Mona on her way to Hispaniola<sup>1</sup>.*

That while he [Gines Navarro] was loading the said caravel with cassava, last Tuesday, the nineteenth of the present month of November, there arrived a vessel of 250 tons' burden<sup>2</sup>, and three main-tops; and taking her for a ship from Spain, he went towards her in his boat. And they came off in their pinnace manned by 25 or 30 men with as many as 25 men in the boat and the captain of the said ship in command. All were armed with corselets, bows and arrows and some cross-bows; and in the bow were two lombards, the matches of which were alight.

On reaching them, he inquired from what country they came? They answered they were Englishmen from the city of London, and that the vessel belonged to the king of England. He asked them what they had come to look for in those parts? They told him the king had fitted out that vessel and another to go and discover the land of the Great Khan, but that on the way, they met with a storm, during which they lost sight of their consort and had never seen her again. They held on their course and reached the frozen sea where they met large islands of ice. Being unable to pass that way, they altered their course but ran into a sea as hot as water in a boiler. For fear lest that water should melt the pitch of their vessel, they turned about and came to explore Newfoundland, where they found some 50 Spanish, French and Portuguese fishing-vessels. They desired to land there in order to have tidings of the Indians, but on reaching the shore the Indians killed the pilot, who they said was a Piedmontese by birth. Setting sail thence they made their way for some 400 leagues and more along the coast of the new land where Allyn took his colony.<sup>3</sup> Thence they crossed over and came to explore the island of St. John.<sup>4</sup>

He asked them what they were looking for in these islands? They answered that they wished to examine them in order to give the king of England an account thereof: when they had explored them, they would take a load of Brazil-wood and return home. They inquired for the course to San Domingo and about the harbour there, and who was in charge of the island, as they wished to go and examine it. He told them everything and they made a note of the same.

<sup>1</sup> Haiti. Cf. p. 165, note 1, for La Mona.

<sup>2</sup> The *Mary Guildford's* tonnage was 160.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, II, 238-242.

<sup>4</sup> Porto Rico.



The captain of the English ship invited Gines Navarro to come on board; which he did and was shown all over it. She had only wine, flour and provisions, with some clothes, linen goods and other articles for barter, and much good artillery. There were also carpenters, smiths and a forge, other artisans, tools to build more vessels in case of necessity and an oven for baking bread. The whole ship's company that he saw would number as many as 70 people. He states that the captain asked him if he could read Latin or Spanish: for he wished to show him the orders he brought from the king of England. Since he was unable to read, he did not see them.

The captain and some 25 or 30 men went ashore at Mona and remained there until Wednesday afternoon. All came armed. They went on board for San Domingo, and on Thursday morning shot off two lombards and blew a trumpet and set sail in the direction of San Domingo, until they were out of sight.

The said Gines Navarro remained at Mona until Friday, when he came to this island.

This copy was taken from the original that was sent to the royal Audiencia of St. John's island, which was obtained from the captain of a caravel that lay at Mona island when the English ship passed by on her way to this harbour of San Domingo: Diego Cavallo.

Endorsed: Madrid, 11 March, 1528.

#### LVIII.

26 November, }  
8 December, } 1527.

THE ENGLISH EXPEDITION IN SEARCH OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE.

*Probanzas fechas en Santo Domingo, con motivo de la arribada de una nave ynglesa.*

En la cibdad de Santo Domingo, martes, nona, veynte e seys dias del mes de novienbre de mill e quinientos e veynte e syete años, estando en las casas de la Contratacion los señores lyenciados Xptoal Lebron e Alonso Cuazo, oydores del abdiencia e chancylleria de Su Magestad, en presencia de my, Diego Cavallo, secretario de la dicha Real abdyencia, sus mercedes dixeron: que por quanto ayer lunes en la tarde avia llegado a la boca de este Rio e puerto un nao grande de tress gaviias del Rey

de Ynglaterra, y el patron della con diez o doze marineros avia venido en un batel a tierra, e les avia fecho rrelaçion, como la dicha nao hera del dicho Rey de Ynglaterra, e quella e otra nao juntamente avian salido, podia aver nueve messes, de Ynglaterra por mandado de su Rey para hazer cierto descubrimiento por la vanda del norte entre la tierra del Labrador e los Bacallaos, creyendo por alli hallar estrecho para pasar a descubryr la Tartaria, e que avian navegado tanto que se avian metido debaxo del nort cinquenta e tantos grados, adonde de frio se le avia muerto cierta gente, e muerto el piloto, e perdido uno de los dichos navyos, a cuya cabssa avian venido a esta tierra para ser socorridos de agua e mantenimientos e otras cossas, de que tenia nescesydad, e les avia pedido seguro para entrar en este puerto; e quellos en nombre de Su Magestad los avian asegurado, é avian enbiado con ellos a la nao a Diego Mendez, alguazil mayor desta ysla, Francisco Martin e a Pedro de Montes, pilotos, para que metiessen la dicha nao en este puerto; e que por ser ayer casy noche, no la pudieron meter en el puerto hasta oy dicho dia, de mañana, a las diez oras antes de medio dia, que la dicha nao surgio a la boca del Rio para de alli se entrar avando a cabssa del viento norte que hazia; é questando la dicha nao surta, an sydo ynformados, e asy es notorio, que de la fortaleza desta cibdad se le tiro un tiro de lonbarda con un piedra que passo junto con la dicha nao, de cuya cabssa la dicha nao yncontinente se hizo a la vela e se va la via de Castilla, etc.....

En la noble cibdad de Santo Domingo del puerto desta ysla española de las Yndias del mar ogiano, ocho dias del mes de dyzienbre, año del nascymiento de nuestro salvador Jesu Cristo, de mill e quinientos e veynte e syete años, ante el muy noble señor Lope de Bardeca, teniente de Gobernador en esta dicha cibdad e ysla española, por el yllustre e muy manifico señor Don Luys Colon, Almirante, VisoRey e Governador en estas partes por Su Magestad; y en presençia de mi, Gonzalo Gomez, escrivano de Su Magestad e del abdiencia e juzgado del dicho Señor teniente, paresçio presente Joan Ximenez, Procurador de cabsas, e vezino desta dicha cibdad, en boz e en nombre de Francisco de Tapia, alcaýde de la fortaleza e bezino e Regidor desta cibdad, e por virtud del poder que del presento junto con un escripto de pedimento, e con ciertas preguntas al pié del que, uno en pos otro, es este que se sigue:.....

Muy noble Señor:

Francisco de Tapia, alcaýde por Su Magestad de la fortaleza de Santo Domingo, paresce ante vuestra merced e digo: quel el

lunes proximo pasado llego al puerto desta cibdad una nao de Yngalaterra de armada; e yo enbié al Ligenciado Lebron e al licenciado Cuago, oydores que a la sazón eran, a les dezir que me hyziesen saber, sy dexarian entrar la nao o no. Los quales me respondyeron que me lo harian saber; la qual respuesta jamas me enbiaron; e otro día por la mañana entro la nao a anclar, y querian entrar en el puerto; e como yo tenga la fortaleza para la guarda del, por saber como venia, le tyré un tiro de artilleria pequeño a Redrado de la dicha nao, para que hiziese seña, como es costumbre. La qual nao se fué; e porque cerca de lo susodicho, e de lo que en razón dello suçedio, yo tengo nescesidad de hazer una ynformacion ad perpetua Rey memoria, para la presentar ante Su Magestad e su muy alto Consejo, porque sepa e sea ynformado de lo que pasa, pido a vuestra merced mande desaminar los testigos que por mi parte fueren presentados, e me mande dar sus dichos e depusyçiones, de manera que haga fee, cerrados e sellados, para qualquier parte e ante quien presentare la dicha probança; los quales pido que sean desaminados por las preguntas syguientes: Primeramente, &c. ....

XV (*sic*) Yten: Si saben &c. que al tiempo que el dicho capitán e maestre e gente de la dicha nao ynglesa llego a esta dicha cibdad e puerto, venian dysciendo e publicando quella avia salido de Yngalaterra de armada, a descubrir cierto estrecho hazia la banda del norte, e que por falta de piloto, que se le avian muerto, venian a esta dicha ysla, en demanda dél, e no por otra cosa?.....

E despues de lo susodicho, este dicho día e mes e año susodicho, ante mi, el dicho Escribano, paresçio presente el dicho Juan Ximenez en el dicho nombre, e presento por testigos en la dicha cabsa a el ligenciado Francisco de Prado e a Alonso d'Avila, vezino e regidor de esta dicha Cibdad, e a Diego Martel e a Juan Garcia, cavallero, todos vezinos de la dicha cibdad, e a Juan de Loaysa, estantes en ella; de los quales, e de cada uno dellos, yo, el dicho escribano, tomé e rescibí juramento sobre una seña de la cruz en que pusyeron su mano derecha, corporalmente, e por Dyos e por Santa Maria, e por las palabras de los Sagrados Evangelios, do quiera que mas largamente estan escriptas segund forma de derecho, so virtud del qual prometieron de dezir verdad; e lo que ellos e cada uno dellos dixeron e depusyeron, secreta e apartadamente, syendo preguntados por las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio, es lo syguiente:

Testigo.—El dicho Francisco de Prado, vezino desta cib-

dad, testigo presentado en la dicha Razon por parte del dicho Francisco de Tapia, Alcayde, aviendo jurado segund derecho, e syendo preguntado por el tenor de las dichas preguntas, dixo e depuso lo syguiente:

A la primera pregunta, dixo, etc. ....

A las catorze (*sic*) preguntas dixo: Queste testigo oyo dezir todo lo contenido en la dicha pregunta publicamente que en esta dicha cibdad a todos los que hablaban en ello e lo avian hoydo al dicho capitan e maestre; e que a parescer deste testigo e a lo que puede alcançar, segund que vinieron a dar en este puerto que esta tan escondido en estas yslas, debia la dicha nao traer piloto, que lo sabia muy byen; e asi parescio quando venian de alta mar en demanda del dicho puerto, e aun quando se volvian, porque navegan la costa como personas que la sabian. ....

Testigo.—El dicho Alonso d'Avila, vezino e Regidor desta cibdad, etc. ....

A las catorze preguntas, dixo: Que lo que desta pregunta sabe, es que este testigo oyo dezir al patron de la dicha nao, estando en tierra, que aquella nao e otra que en su conserba avia venido, que se avia perdido, avian salido por mandado del Rey de Yngalaterra en demanda de un estrecho hazia la banda del norte, e que por falta del piloto que trayan, que se lo avian muerto en una tierra donde avian tocado, venian a esta ysla para ser ynformados de la navegacion para volver a su tierra; que tyene este testigo por cierto por lo que ha oydo dezir a onbres que saben del arte de la mar, que con mucho difycultad bolbiera la dicha nao a su tierra que no venir a esta ysla, desde donde dixo el dicho patron que venia; e que segund la nabegacion la dicha nao hizo para tomar este puerto, que a este testigo parescio que dentro venia persona que la sabia bien encaminar. .

Testigo.—El dicho Diego Martel, vezino desta dicha cibdad, etc. ....

A las catorze preguntas, dixo: Que lo que della sabe, es que la noche que pasaron los dichos dos marineros en casa deste testigo, queriendose este testigo ynformar de su venida, les preguntó que como avian arribado a este puerto, estando en mejor paraje de donde avian partido para yr a su tierra, que no para venir a este puerto? Los quales rrespondieron a este testigo, que el Rey de Yngalaterra los avia enbiado con dos naos a descubrir cierto estrecho que estaba a la banda de la Noruega, de donde ellos avian partido; y que como navegaron tanto hasta meterse sesenta e quatro grados debaxo del norte, por ser ynvierno como era, avian hallado toda la tierra elada, y que hazia tanto frio,



que de frio se avian muerto quatro o cinco onbres de la nao; por manera que acordaron de venir a tierra caliente, e que por esto e porque se les avian muerto el piloto, era su venida e yntento de vender giertas mercaderias de paños e lienços quen la nao traya, e tomar un onbre diestro en la mar, que los llevase a Yngalaterra; e questo es lo que los dichos dos onbres a este testigo dixeron, e que tiene por cierto que la nao no vyniera a este puerto si no fuera quen ella vyniera ombre que supiera la navegacion para traellos a este dicho puerto.....

Testigo.—El dicho Juan Garcia, caballero, vezino desta dicha cibdad, etc.....

A las catorze preguntas, dixo: Queste testigo oyo dezir lo en ella contenido en esta cibdad a algunas personas, e queste testigo cree que la dicha nao traya, a lo que le paresce, piloto despaña o yngles que oviese estado en estas partes.....

Testigo.—El dicho Juan de Loaysa, estante en esta dicha cibdad, etc.....

A las catorze preguntas, dixo: Que al dicho patron hablando con el dicho lycenciado Cuago, le oyo dar la razon contenida en la pregunta, de su navegacion, e que le avian muerto el piloto en la tierra nueva con otros honbres, e que despues se creya e tuvo por cierto ser el contenido segund las mercancías que facia la dicha nao.....

Despues de lo susodicho, en la dicha cibdad de Santo Domingo, nueve dias del dicho mes de diziembre e del dicho año, en presencia de mi, el dicho Escribano, parescio presente el dicho Juan Ximenez en el dicho nombre, e presento por testigo en la dicha razon a Francisco Merchant, estante en la dicha cibdad, el qual juro en forma debida de derecho, e siendo preguntado por el thenor de las dichas preguntas, dixo e depuso lo siguiente:.....

A las catorze preguntas, dixo: Questando en el Coco este testigo, vino alli una pynaca con diez o doze onbres yngleses, la qual venia en la dicha nao, e que luego que los dichos ombres saltaron en tierra, preguntaron a este testigo, que como estaba esta cibdad de Santiago? E este testigo les dixo questaba muy buena; e les pregunto que qué gente heran? Los quales rrespondieron queran yngleses, e que la nao era ynglesa del Rey de Yngalaterra, que venia cargada de paños e de lienços, e que avian ydo a tierra Nueva e que hallaron la tierra muy baxa, e que los pilotos quen ella venian, que eran los mejores que avian venido aca, los avian traydo a esta cibdad de Santo Domingo.

E questo era quando la dicha nao venia hazia esta cibdad; e queste testigo les dyo cierto pescado fresco que tenia, para que comiesen; e luego se tornaron a meter en su pinaga e se vynieron hazia esta cibad, etc. ....

From the Archivo de Indias at Seville, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, est. 53, cajon 1°, leg. 9; printed in the *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento*, etc., 1st ser., XL, 305-54.

### LVIIIA.

#### *Evidence taken at San Domingo owing to the Arrival of an English Vessel.*

In the city of San Domingo at three o'clock on Tuesday the 26th day of the month of November 1527, Messrs. the licentiates Christopher Lebron and Alfonso Cuazo, judges of the Audiencia and Chancery of his majesty<sup>1</sup>, being present in the Casas de la Contratacion, before me Diego Cavallo, secretary of the said royal Audiencia, their honours stated: that inasmuch as yesterday a large ship, with three main-tops, belonging to the king of England, had arrived at the mouth of this harbour and river<sup>2</sup>, and the captain with ten or twelve sailors had come on shore in a boat, and had informed them how the said ship belonged to the king of England, and that it and another, some nine months since, had set out together from England in order at the king's command to explore a certain region in the north, between the Labrador's land<sup>3</sup> and the Cod-fish land<sup>4</sup>, in the belief that they would find there a passage by which to sail to the discovery of Tartary; that they had sailed as far north as fifty degrees and more, where the cold had carried off some of their people, and having lost their pilot and their consort, they had come to this island to obtain fresh water and provisions and other things of which they stood in need; and they had asked them [the judges] for a safe-conduct in order to enter this harbour, and they [the judges] in the name of his majesty had given it, and had sent Diego Mendez, high constable of this island and Francis Martin and Pedro de Montes, pilots, on board with them to bring the said ship into this harbour: and as it was then almost night they were not able to bring her into

<sup>1</sup> Charles V.

<sup>2</sup> The Ozama.

<sup>3</sup> Greenland.

<sup>4</sup> Our Labrador and Newfoundland, then considered to be one coast.

harbour until this morning at ten o'clock, when the said ship anchored at the mouth of the river in order to come further in when the north wind dropped: and that while the said ship was at anchor, they have been informed and it is publicly known, that from the fortress of this city a lombard was fired, with a stone which passed close to the said ship, on which account the said ship at once made sail and goes off in the direction of Castille, etc.....

In the noble city and port of San Domingo on the island of Hispaniola<sup>1</sup> in the West Indies on the eighth day of the month of December in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1527, before the noble gentleman Lope de Bardeca, Deputy in this said city and island of Hispaniola for the illustrious and very magnificent Don Louis Columbus, Admiral, Vice-roy and Governor for his majesty in these parts, and in presence of me, Gonzalo Gomez, notary of his majesty and of the said deputy's Audiencia and tribunal, appeared John Ximenez, attorney and burgess of this said city for and in behalf of Francis de Tapia, Governor of the Fort, and burgess and alderman of this city, and by virtue of the power of attorney from him which he showed, along with a written petition at the foot of which were certain questions, whereof the tenour, one after the other, was as follows:.....

Most Noble Sir,

I, Francis de Tapia, Governor for his majesty of the fortress of San Domingo, appear before your honour and say: that last Monday there arrived in the harbour of this city an armed vessel from England, and I sent to the Licentiates Lebron and Cuazo, at that time judges, to tell them to let me know whether or not they would allow the vessel to enter, who replied they would let me know, but sent no further word. And on the morning of the following day the ship entered and sought to anchor in the harbour; and as I have charge of the port as a guard over the same, in order to find out on what terms she was sailing in, I fired a small gun in rear of the said ship, in order that she should make a signal as is customary; but the ship sailed away. And since in virtue of the above and of what took place in consequence thereof, I am under the necessity of making a report as a royal record to be presented to his Majesty<sup>2</sup> and his Supreme Council, so that he may know and be informed

<sup>1</sup> Haiti.

<sup>2</sup> Charles V.

of what took place, I beg your honour to order the witnesses presented by me to be examined, and to order their statements and depositions to be given to me, so that when closed and sealed, the said evidence may be valid everywhere and before whomever presented; which witnesses I beg be asked the following questions: First, etc.....

Fifteenth (*sic*): Also whether they know, etc., that when the said captain, master and crew of the said ship reached this said city and harbour, they stated and gave out that she had set forth from England to discover a certain strait towards the northern parts, and that after the loss of the pilot, who had been killed, they came to this said island in search of one and for no other reason?.....

And after the aforesaid, this said day and month and year above-mentioned, before me, the said notary, appeared John Ximenez in the said name, and presented as witnesses in the said case the licentiate Francisco de Prado and Alonso d'Avila, burgess and alderman of this said city, and Diego Martel, and John Garcia, Esquire, all inhabitants of the said city, and John de Loaysa, present therein, from whom and each of whom I, the said notary, took and received the oath over the cross, whereon they corporally placed their right hands, and by God and St. Mary and by the words of the Holy Gospels, wherever they are further set forth according to law, promised in virtue thereof to state the truth: and that which they and each of them on being asked the questions in the said interrogatory, stated and deposed, secretly and openly, is as follows:

Witness: the said Francisco de Prado, inhabitant of this city, witness presented in the said affair on behalf of the said Francisco de Tapia, Governor, having taken the oath according to law, and being examined according to the tenour of the said questions, stated and deposed as follows:

To the first question he answered, etc.....

As to the fourteenth question, he stated: that this witness heard all that is set forth in the said question publicly talked of in this said city among those who discussed the subject and had had it from the said captain and master; and that in the opinion of this witness and by what he can hear, in view of the fact that the said ship reached this harbour which is so hidden among these islands, she must have had on board a pilot who knew it very well; and this was seen both when she came in from the high seas in search of this harbour, and again when she went



away; for they sailed the coast like people who knew it. . . . .

Witness: the said Alonso d'Avila, burgess and alderman of this city, etc. . . . .

As to the fourteenth question, he stated: that what he knows in answer to this question is, that this witness heard the captain of the said ship declare, when he was on shore, that that vessel and another, which had set out in consort with it and had been lost, had set forth by order of the king of England in search of a strait towards the northern parts; and that on the death of their pilot, who had been killed on a coast at which they had touched, they had come to this island in order to gather information about the course back to their country: that this witness thinks it certain from what he heard stated by men skilled in navigation, that the said ship would have had more difficulty in returning home than in coming to this island from the region whence the said captain affirmed she had come; that it appeared to this witness from the manner in which the said vessel made this harbour, there was some one on board who knew the route well. . . . .

Witness: the said Diego Martel, burgess of this said city, etc. . . . .

As to the fourteenth question, he stated: that what he knows of this, is that the night the said two sailors passed in this witness's house, desiring to find out whence they came, he asked them how they had arrived at this port, when they were in a better position to sail home than to come to this port? They answered this witness that the king of England had sent them with two ships to discover a certain strait that lay near Norway, whence they had set forth; and that after sailing as far north as 64°, it being winter, they found the land all frozen, and the cold so extreme that four or five men of this ship died, whereupon they agreed to come to a warm country, for which reason, and as their pilot had been killed, they had come with intent to sell certain clothes and linen goods they had on board, and to secure a skilled pilot to take them back to England. This is what the said two men told this witness, who is certain the ship would not have come to this port, had there not been on board a man who knew the course to bring them to this said harbour. . . . .

Witness: the said John Garcia, Esquire, burgess of this said city, etc. . . . .

As to the fourteenth question he stated: that this witness heard the same affirmed by some people in this city; and that

this witness is of opinion that the said vessel had on board, to all appearances, a Spanish or English pilot, who had been in these parts.....

Witness: the said John de Loaysa, present in this said city, etc.....

As to the fourteenth question, he stated: that when the said master spoke with the said licentiate Cuazo, he heard him give the reason for his voyage that is set out in the question; and that their pilot had died in Newfoundland with other men; and that afterwards this was believed and held to be certain from the goods on board the said ship.....

After the above, in the said city of San Domingo on the ninth day of the said month of December, in the said year, in presence of me the said notary, appeared the said John Ximenez in the said name, and presented as a witness in the said matter Francisco Merchant, of the said city, who made oath according to law, and being questioned by the tenour of the said questions, stated and deposed as follows:.....

To the fourteenth question he made answer: that while this witness was in Coco there arrived a pinnace with ten or twelve Englishmen from the said ship, and as soon as they came on shore they asked this witness about the condition of this city of San Juan<sup>1</sup>. And this witness told them it was in good condition; and he asked them who they were? They replied they were Englishmen, and that the ship was an English vessel belonging to the king of England, loaded with wollen stuffs and linens; and that they had been to Newfoundland and found the coast very low and that the pilots they had on board, who were the best that had been this way, had brought them to this city of San Domingo. And that this was when the said vessel was coming towards this city; and that this witness gave them some fresh fish to eat, and thereupon they returned to their boat and came towards this city, etc.....

## LIX.

2 December 1531.

### AN ORDER TO INQUIRE INTO THE PLUNDERING OF A FRENCH VESSEL FROM NEWFOUNDLAND.

Henricus octavus dei gratia Anglie et ffrancie Rex, fidei defensor, et dominus Hibernie, dilectis et fidelibus suis Edwardo

<sup>1</sup> The Capital of Porto Rico.

Guldeford, militi, Constabulario Castri nostri Dovorie ac Custodi quinque portuum nostrorum, Johanni Hales, uni baronum de Scaccario nostro, et Willelmo Hawte, militi, ac dilectis sibi Cristoforo Hales, generali attornato nostro, Willelmo Kempe, armigero, et Ricardo Deryng, salutem: Sciatis, quod cum ex gravi querimonia Johannis Collays, magistri cuiusdam navis vocate *le Barbara* de Seyntbridgion in Britannia accepimus qualiter navis illa, salsis piscibus vocatur ffyssh of the newe founde iland onusta, per nimiam tempestatem et maris rabiem agitata, pro tuicione et salvacione sua ad quendam costeram maris prope Rammesgate, infra insulam de Thaneto in comitatu nostro Kancie, vicesimo tercio die Octubris ultimo preterito applicuarit, eademque navi tunc salva a tempestate existente, quidam malefactores et treugarum et amiciciarum inter nos et carissimum fratrem et consanguineum nostrum ffranciscum, ffrancorum Regem, initarum et conclusarum<sup>1</sup>, violatores et contemptores, in navem illam irruerunt, et pisces ac alias res in ea existentes, necnon diversas apparatus eiusdem ceperunt et asportaverunt, Nos amiciciam et treugas predictas pro parte nostra firmiter teneri, et quod justum est in hac parte, fieri volentes, ac de fidelitatibus vestris plenius confidentes, assignavimus vos quinque, quatuor et tres vestrum ad inquirendum tam per sacrum, proborum et legalium hominum in quibuscumque locis tam infra libertates quinque portuum predictorum quam alibi in predicto comitatu Kancie, per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit, ac aliis viis, modis et mediis, quibus melius sciveritis aut poteritis, qui malefactores et amiciciarum predictarum violatores in navim predictam irruerunt, et pisces, res et apparatus eiusdem navis ceperunt, et quantum huiusmodi piscium, rerum et apparatus inde asportaverunt, et ad quorum seu cuius manus pisces, res et apparatus predicti devenerunt, et in quorum manibus ad huc existunt, et ad eosdem pisces, res et apparatus ubicumque inventi fuerint, tam infra libertates quam extra, seisiendos, capiendos et arrestandos, et prefato Johanni Collays seu eius in hac parte deputato sive deputatis, si extent, aut precium seu verum valorem eorundem si non extent, restituti et liberari faciendos, ac si aliquos vel aliquem restitutionem et liberationem huiusmodi facere renuentes vel renuentem inveneritis, tunc ad eos prisone nostre committendos, in eadem salvo et

<sup>1</sup> 24 June, 1528. Vid. Rymer, *Fadera*, XII., 258-65, London, 1712.

secure quousque per eorum deliberacionem duxerimus ordinandum custodiri faciendos, Ac de nominibus eorum et de eorum gestis et factis ac de omnibus circumstanciis premissa tangentibus nobis in Cancellaria nostra debite certificandis. Ed ideo vobis mandamus, quod circa premissa diligenter intendatis, et ea faciatis, et exequamini in forma predicta, ac nos in Cancellaria nostra predicta de toto facto vestro in hac parte sub sigillis vestris quinque, quatuor vel trium vestrum in Crastino purificationis beate Marie proximo futuro ubicumque tunc fuerit distincte et aperte reddatis certiores; damus autem universis et singulis quorum interest in hac parte, tenore presencium, firmiter in mandatis, quod vobis quinque, quatuor et tribus vestrum in execucione premissorum intendentes sint consulentes et auxiliantes in omnibus diligenter; mandamus eciam tenore presencium vicomito nostro Kancie quod ad certos dies et loca, quos ei scire faciatis, coram vobis quinque, quatuor vel tribus vestrum tot et tales probos et legales homines de balliva sua, per quos rei veritas in premissis melius sciri poterit et inquiri. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso, apud Chelsehith, secundo die Decembris, Anno regni nostri vicesimo tercio.

From the Public Record Office, Patent Roll, 23 Henry VIII, December, pt. II., No. 659, membrane 10d: unpublished. Vid. James Gairdner, *Letters and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII.* V, 285, No. 627 (1).

#### LIXA.

Henry VIII, by the grace of God, King of England and of France, defender of the Faith, and lord of Ireland, to his well-beloved and faithful Edward Guildford<sup>1</sup>, Knight, constable of our castle of Dover and Warden of our Cinque Ports, John Hales, one of the Barons of our Exchequer<sup>2</sup> and William Hawte, Knight, and to his well-beloved Christopher Hales, our Attorney-General<sup>3</sup>, William Kempe, Esquire, and Richard Dering<sup>4</sup>, greeting: Know, that upon the serious complaint of Jean Collays, master of a certain ship called *Le Barbara* of St. Bridgion

<sup>1</sup> Son of Sir Richard Guildford and half brother of Sir Henry Guildford, comptroller of Henry VIII's household. Cf. p. XXIX.

<sup>2</sup> Appointed second baron 14 May, 1528.

<sup>3</sup> Appointed 3 June, 1529.

<sup>4</sup> An old Kentish family.



(? St. Brieuc) in Brittany, we have heard how this vessel, with a cargo of salted fish called ffysse of the new founde iland, after being tossed about in a very bad storm and heavy sea, sought safety and shelter, on the twenty-third of October last, at a certain part of the coast near Ramsgate, on the south side of the island of Thanet in our county of Kent; and when this ship was then safe from the storm, certain malfactors, violators and contempters of the treaty of friendship entered into and concluded between ourselves and our very dear brother and cousin, Francis, king of the French, broke into that ship and seized and carried off both the fish and other goods then on board, as well as divers parts of the rigging. We, being desirous that the aforesaid treaty of friendship should be duly carried out on our part and that justice should be done in this matter, and having full confidence in your fidelity, have appointed five, four and three of you to open an inquiry with the help of venerable, honest and lawful men in any places whatsoever, as well within the jurisdiction of the aforesaid Cinque Ports as elsewhere in the aforesaid county of Kent, through whom the truth of the matter may be the better known, and in other ways, manners and means, by which the better you may learn or find out what malfactors and violators of the aforesaid friendship broke into the aforesaid ship and seized the fish, goods and tackle of the same, and how much of these fish, goods and tackle they carried off, and into whose hand or hands the aforesaid fish, goods and tackle came, and in whose hands they now are, and to seize, capture and take possession of these fish, goods and tackle wherever they be found, as well within the jurisdiction [of the Cinque Ports] as outside of it, and to cause these, if they be in existence, to be given back and delivered up to the aforesaid Jean Collays or his deputy or deputies in this matter, or the price or true value if they do not exist, and should you discover any person or persons refusing to restore and hand over the same, then to commit these to our prison or have them detained there safely and securely, until we shall have considered what is to be done in their case; and duly to certify to us in our Chancery their names, deeds and acts and all the circumstances pertaining to the aforesaid matters. And therefore we command you to inquire diligently into the above and to carry out and fulfil the same in the manner aforesaid and to return us an explicit and clear account of all you do in this matter under the seal of the five, four or three of you, on the morrow of the next Purification of the Blessed Mary [3 Febru-

ary, 1532] in our aforesaid Chancery, wherever it may then be. Moreover, by the tenour of these presents we duly command all and singular to whom this matter pertains, diligently to aid, counsel and help the five, four or three of you wherever possible in the execution of the above. We also, by the tenour of these presents, command our sheriff of Kent, on the days and at the places you may fix [to assemble] before the five, four or three of you as many and such honest and lawful men of his bailiwick as may aid to the truth of the aforesaid being better known and inquired into. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be drawn up.

Witness ourselves at Chelseith on the second of December in the twenty-third year of our reign.

LX.

September-December 1533.

THE CHRISTOPHE OF PLOUMANAC'H BOUND FOR NEWFOUNDLAND.

A tous ceulx qui ces présentes lettres verront, etc., sçavoir faisons que etc., ont été présens et personnellement establyz Yvon Raymond, marchant et maistre de la navyre nommée *Xpristofle* de Plusmanac, lequel, de son bon gré et volonté, a congneu et confessé, etc., debvoir et estre tenu bien, justement et loyaulment à honorable homme Julien Giraud, marchent et bourgeois de la ville de La Rochelle, à ce présent, stipullant et acceptant, la somme de 30 livres tournoys; laquelle somme ledit Raymond a confessé avoir heu et receu dudit Giraud auparavant le passément de ces présentes, et s'en est tenu et tient pour contant, ainsi qu'il a congneu et confessé és presences du notaire cy soubscriptz; renonscent, sur ce, ledit Raymond, à l'exception de ladite pecune non avoir heue, non receue, non comptée, et à toutes autres manière et exeption et dextetions quelxconques; et laquele dicte somme de 30 livres tournoys ledit Giraud les a délaissé et délaisse audit Raymond à la grosse aventure du premier voyage qu'il prestant et espère faire de ceste ville de La Rochelle à Terre Neufves ou autre pays qu'il yra, en allant et venant en sauveté en ladite Rochelle ou ailleurs és environs. Et pour, amprés le retour fait, par ledit Raymond rendre et bailher et livrer audit Giraud sur le port et havre de ladite Rochelle ou ailleurs, pour le poyment de ladite somme de 30 livres tournoys, deux milliers de moul-

lues parées, ainsi qu'il les amenera, moyennent qu'elles soyent bonnes et marchandes. Et moyennant ce, toutes obligations, cédulles et chartres parties qui auroyent esté faictes et passées par cy devant entre eulx par notaires ou autrement demourant, seront et demoureront cassées et annullées. Autrement ledit Giraud s'en pourra aider contre ledit Raymond par primitive obligation, seullement quant à rizer et débouter tous autres crédeurs. Pour lequel paiement, etc." After 23 September, 1533, and before 31 December of the same year.

From the office of M. Bonniot, notary at La Rochelle, minutes of M. Gaschet, notaire, fol. 371<sup>v</sup>: unpublished. The above copy was most kindly made by M. Georges Musset of La Rochelle, who first discovered this document.

## LXI.

EXTRACTS FROM CONTARINI'S REPORT ON SEBASTIAN CABOT.

### Relazione letta in senato.

Note a Cabotta. Concorda a non farlo Inglese anche una manuscritta relazione, che esiste presso di noi, di Marcantonio Contarini, Ambasciatore in Ispagna nel 1534, che dice:

*Sebastian Cabotto, figlio d'un Veneziano, quale andette in Inghilterra suso le Galie Venete con fantasia di cercar paesi, etc.*

Note. Dice il Contarini, che il Cabotta: *ebbe do nave da Enrico Re de Anglia (Padre de Errico moderno, che è fatto Luterano, e peggio) e con 300. uomini navigò tanto che trovò il mar congelato. Questo è il viaggio, di cui parlato abbiamo di sopra, fatto del 1496, per trovare il passaggio da un mare all' altro, e fin quì dice il vero. Segue lo stesso: Onde convenne al Cabotto ritornarsene senza aver l'intento suo cum presupposito però di ritornarsene a quella impresa a tempo che il mar non fosse congelato: Nè anche quì c'è che opporre. Aggiungne: Trovò il Re morto, e il figlio curarsi poco di tale impresa.*

From the Kaiserl. und Königl. Hofbibliothek at Vienna, N° 6122, Cod. Foscari, fols. 15<sup>r</sup> and 17<sup>v</sup>. The second extract is also given on folio 33<sup>v</sup>. Herr Ferd. Menčik, the custos, kindly collated the above copy: printed in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pt. III, vol. I, p. 137; Harisse, *John Cabot*, etc., 431, N° LXIII; and Winship, *Cabot Bibliography*, 36.

LXIA.

Report read in the Senate.

Note on Cabot. Also agrees in not making him English, an MS. report, in our hands, by Marcantonio Contarini, ambassador in Spain in 1534, which states:

*Sebastian Cabot, son of a Venetian, who went to England on the Venetian galleys with the idea of searching for new lands, etc.*

Note. Contarini states that Cabot, *had two ships from Henry, King of England, (father of the modern Henry who became Lutheran and worse) and with 300 men sailed so far that he found the sea frozen.* This is the voyage of which we have spoken above, made in 1496, in order to find the passage from one ocean to the other; and thus far he states what is true. He continues: *Whence Cabot had to return without having carried out his purpose, intending, however, to make a fresh attempt when the sea was not frozen.* Nor here can any objection be raised. He adds: *He found the king dead and the son little interested in such an undertaking.*

LXII.

1541-56.

EXTRACT FROM SANTA CRUZ'S 'ISLARIO GENERAL.'

Tierra del Labrador.

De la que al presente queremos tratar es comunemente dicha tierra del Labrador, puesta en controversia de opiniones si es cortada del continente d'Engrovelandia<sup>1</sup>, de quien en la primera parte hizimos mencion, o si es tierra continuada del continente setentrional de Europa, loqual está por averiguar<sup>2</sup> hasta oy por la indisposicion del lugar, que es tan fria que no es tratable sino en el estio. Zieglero<sup>3</sup> tiene ser esta tierra [toda]<sup>4</sup> continuada desde Escondia,<sup>5</sup> movido por lo que

<sup>1</sup> The northern part of Norway: cf. Nordenskiöld's *Facsimile-Atlas*, plates XXX, XXXIII, XXXVIII and XLI. Stockholm, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> The Vienna and Besançon copies have: *navegar*.

<sup>3</sup> Whose work on Schondia, published at Strassburg in 1532, Santa Cruz had read.

<sup>4</sup> The words in brackets are found only in the Vienna and Besançon copies of the MS. which we shall call V. and B.

<sup>5</sup> Scandinavia: cf. Nordenskiöld, *op. cit.*, plate XLIII, and the Basle Ptolemies of 1540 and 1542, No. 41, Nova Tabula XIII.



Antonio Gaboto della dixo, que avia ydo costeando la tierra y costa setentrional hasta mas adelante de la tierra de los Bacallaos, y hasta casi la Florida, y que en jullio<sup>1</sup> avia tan grandes tempanos y pedaços de yelo sobre el mar, mayores que las naos que llevavan, que venian de hazia la tierra alangados por los rrios, que apenas se podian defender dellos; pero esta rrelacion fué muy confusa, y a quien no se dio mucha fee, por ser la primera. Olao Magno da a entender estar divisa, por manera que avria paso segun el por alli y a la rredonda de Escondia para yr a las islas orientales, loqual se a de entender por la parte oriental della. Que por la occidental hasta la tierra de los Bacallaos se afirma de unos dos hermanos portugueses, llamados Cortes rreales, que fueron a ella con licencia del Rey de Portugal, para la abitar, y de quien se dixo tambien la tierra de los Corte Reales, o Corteratos, corrubto el vocablo, estos pues aseveraron partirse del gran continente de las Indias occidentales, cuyo extremo parte ellos tenian, desta isla del Labrador por una canal muy ancha y grande de mar, de la qual el piloto Antonio Gaboto, arriba dicho, tambien tuvo noticia. Fué dicha *tierra del Labrador* porque dio della aviso e indicio un labrador de las islas de los Açores al Rey de Inglatierra quando el la enbio a descubrir por Antonio Gaboto, piloto ingles y padre de Sebastian Gaboto, piloto mayor que fué<sup>2</sup> de Vuestra Magestad, y dende estonces se frequenta de ingleses que van a ella por pescados, que toman muchos los de la tierra, que afirman ser de las mesmas costumbres que los de Capania,<sup>3</sup> provincia en Escondia, que al principio de la primera parte diximos. Traen assi mesmo pellejos de animales de mucho precio y estima, y llevan mercadurias que a ellos les agradan. Afirmase ser la tierra muy abitada, y de muchos arboles y buenas aguas, y de rrios muy caudalosos, y muchas islas pequenas<sup>4</sup> junto a ella por toda la costa, de mucha frescura; y pesca de muchos pescados. De verano tiene gentil vista por la mucha arboleda que dizen que tiene, lo que no tiene de invierno, por las muchas nieves. Tiene pues la costa austral della, que es lo que hasta el dia de oy esta descubierta, ciento y cinquenta leguas de largo, levante puniente, desde un cabo mas oriental, llamado *cabo Gruesso*, hasta otro llamado *cabo de las Yslas*. Salen a ella muchos rrios y muy buenos, y en parage de la costa muchas islas,

<sup>1</sup> V. and B. have: *que con ser en julio*.

<sup>2</sup> V. and B. have: *que oy es*. MS. J. 92 which was altered by Andres Garcia Céspedes to read as his own work, still shows traces of this erasure.

<sup>3</sup> Laponia. V. and B. have: *la Polonia*.

<sup>4</sup> V. and B. have: *y de yslas muy pequenas*.

aunque deshabitadas y de ningun provecho. A la parte del poniente tiene una gran baya con muchas islas. Está en altura de cinquenta y seis grados, y en el clima onzeno. Su mayor dia es de 17 oras y un quarto.<sup>1</sup>

Isla de San Juan; Islas de las Virgines.

Junto a la costa de la tierra que arriba diximos llamarse de los Bachallaos, donde fueron a poblar los Corte Reales, dos hermanos portugueses, y primero reconocida del piloto Antonio Gaboto, ingles, por mandado de El Rey de Ynglatierra, estan muchas yslas, grandes y pequeñas, de todas las quales, el dia de oy, ay poca noticia a causa de ser la tierra muy fria y de poco provecho, y aver muerto en ella los dos hermanos dichos con toda la gente que llevaron, sin saber como, porque nunca se supo cosa dellos, desde a poco tiempo que a ella llegaron, por loqual y por el poco provecho de la tierra, no a querido el Rey de Portugal tornar a embiar alla gente ni armada alguna<sup>2</sup>; pero tienese por muy mejor tierra que la del Labrador<sup>3</sup> por ser mas caliente. Hallanse a la parte oriental desta tierra muchas islas y con nombres las siguientes: la primera se llama *isla de la Fortuna*, laqual está en el braço de mar o estrecho que passa entre esta tierra de los Bacallaos y la isla del Labrador.<sup>4</sup> Llamóse de la Fortuna porque junto a ella hubo una gran [fortuna de mar] una armada de Portugal que alli fué quando fueron los Corte Reales; y otra, *San Juan*, a la boca de un gran rrio; y otra *San Pedro*. Fueron [les] puestos estos nombres por se aver descubierto en dias destos bienaventurados aposteles. Son desiertas, y al derredor dellas se pescan muchos pescados. Mas al medio dia de las dichas, estan otras dos o tres islas altas, llamadas *de Aves*, porque al principio que se descubrieron, vieron<sup>5</sup> en ellas muchas aves, como unas que aca llaman Rabiatorcados; y no ay otra cosa de provecho en ellas. Mas al medio dia estan otras llamadas *de los Patos*, y otras aves de agua. Son yslas llanas y arenosas y de poco provecho. Al ocidente destas por catorze leguas está una isleta baxa, y llena de baxos a la rredonda, que la llamaron por esta causa *isla Baxa*<sup>6</sup>. Al austro de la tierra de los Bacallaos y junto al cabo llamado *d'Espera*, estan tres islas, la mayor de las quales

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tafel I in Franz R. v. Wieser, *Die Karten von Amerika in dem Islario General*, etc. Innsbruck, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> B. has: *ninguna*.

<sup>3</sup> Our Greenland.

<sup>4</sup> Our Greenland; the strait is our Davis strait.

<sup>5</sup> B. has: *dieron*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. E. W. Dahlgren, *Map of the World by Alonzo de Santa Cruz*, plate III. Stockholm, 1892.

sera de hasta tres o quatro leguas, deshabitadas; y mas al ocidente destas y dentro de una baya que se dize *de Santa Maria*, ay muchas isletas pequeñas, y todas desiertas, y de grandes pesquerias entre ellas, las quales se anegan con las avenidas que el rio tiene en los inviernos. Y junto al cabo de Santa Maria, que es luego passada la baya, estan tres yslas como casi en triangulo, de hasta ocho leguas de largo cada una, con otros isleos a la rredonda, las quales se llaman *las Onze mill Virgines*, todas despobladas y sin algun<sup>1</sup> provecho. Al derredor desta tierra y costa ay muy grande abundancia de pescados, por laqual causa vienen cada año muchos bretones e irlandeses a pescar a ellas por el rrio, y llevan cargados sus navios dellos. Los pescados que mas comunmente aqui se hallan, son bacallaos, que son unos pescados que salados se conservan mucho; y se llevan en las naos para bastimento, y se gastan en toda la costa de Francia,<sup>2</sup> y aun de Galizia. Al medio dia desta tierra de los Bacalhaos y de la baya de Santa Maria, por cinquenta leguas, está una isla llamada *Juan Estevez*<sup>3</sup>, laqual se dixo assi por un piloto que la descubrio, assi llamado, viniendo a pescar aqui: y tambien se han descubierto otras que estan al poniente desta, assi acaso, andando pescando por este mar; pero todas son deshabitadas y de poco provecho. Estan en altura de quarenta y seis grados; y las que arriba diximos estar junto a la costa del continente, desde quarenta y ocho<sup>4</sup> a cinquenta y uno, y en el clima noveno; y su mayor dia de 16 horas y un quarto. Passadas las islas de las Honze mill Virgines haze la mar una muy gran ensenada, llamada *baya de Bretones*, por la venida que hazen cada año a pescar a esta baya y tierra los dichos bretones. En esta baya o ensenada dizen aver muchas islas y todas despobladas. Principalmente ay una pequeña dicha *de Sant Elmo*, a laqual le pusieron el tal nombre ciertos pescadores bretones, porque una noche tomandoles sobrella una tormenta, dizen que vieron en la isla muchas candelas ardiendo, a que ellos llaman Sant Elmo, que dizen que viene en tal figura. Passada la dicha baya, mas al occidente y junto a una punta llamada *Cabo Breton*, comiença a prolongarse por la costa una isla, levante a poniente, dicha *de San Juan*, que tiene de largo cinquenta y seis leguas, y por lo mas ancho veinte. Esta isla dixeron algunos pilotos

<sup>1</sup> B. has: *ningun*.

<sup>2</sup> B. has: *Flandres*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dahlgren, op. cit., III. Our Sable island is evidently meant.

<sup>4</sup> B. has: *quarenta y nueve o (sic) cinquenta*.

que no estava en esta parte de mar, sino metida en la baya que diximos llamarse de los Bretones: y en muchas cartas de navegar, a los principios quando esta tierra se començo a descubrir, se ponía<sup>1</sup> asi, hasta que Estevan Gomez, piloto, truxo esta rrelacion algo discrepante de la que se tenia, que es estar esta isla no en la baya do dezian que estava, sino junto á esta tierra do agora está. De laqual isla, no ay cosa que de contarse, a salvo que el dicho Estevan Gomez, piloto, dize que a la passada por ella, vido muchos humos en ella y señales de ser habitada. Hazese una canal entre ella y tierra firme llamada *canal de San Julian*, de cinco o seis leguas de ancho. Esta isla dizeu tener [muy] buena vista y mucha arboleda, y rrios que salen a la mar. Tiene a la rredonda de sy muchos isleos, todos deshabitados. Está desde quarenta y seis a quarenta y siete grados y medio<sup>2</sup>, y en el clima octavo. Tiene su mayor dia de quinze oras y dos tercios. Junto al Cabo Breton se hallan algunas isletas deshabitadas, do ay muchas aves, y al derredor dellas ay grandes pesquerias.

Islas Adjacentes a la Tierra que descubrio el Piloto Estevan Gomez.

Estevan Gomez, Piloto, de quien arriba diximos, en aquella jornada y espedicion que hizo con mandado y licencia del emperador nuestro señor<sup>3</sup>, en demanda y descubrimiento del Catayo o ciudad oriental de la India, y de aquel passo o estrecho, tan desseado, que saliese al mar comunmente llamado *del Sur*, en el qual estuvo diez meses, dentro de los quales descubrio por esta costa gran numero de yslas juntas al continente, y principalmente un Rio muy ancho y caudaloso que el puso nombre *de los Gamos*<sup>4</sup>, por los muchos que alli avia, sembrado todo de yslas, a lasquales en el verano venian los indios de la tierra firme a abitar en ellas, por rrazon de las muchas pesquerias que junto a ellas avia de Salmones y Sabalos y bogas y otros muchos generos de pescados que en estas partes ay, por el qual rrio el navegó por mucho espacio, creyendo fuese el estrecho que el desseava hallar, pero al fin halló este ser un famoso rio de gran concurso de aguas, de do se arguye<sup>5</sup> el gran trato y espacio del continente que alli ay. Y puesto que el creyese la muy firme oppinion que ay de la canal y passo que

<sup>1</sup> B. has: *puso*.

<sup>2</sup> B. has: *hasta quarenta y ocho grados*. Cf. Tafel II in Wieser, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> V. and B. have simply: *licencia de Vuestra Magestad*.

<sup>4</sup> The Bay of Fundy.

<sup>5</sup> B. has: *arguyo*.



arriba diximos cortar el continente de los Bacallaos y la tierra llamada del Labrador, el tuvo por cierto que no avia necesidad de espiriencia, por no ser possible poderse passar por ella, segun el impedimento que avia de frialdad en las partes vezinas, laqual oppinion y disculpa de no aver intentado a passar por el, quedó tan assentada por buena escusa que nunca mas se ha intentado a proceder en este caso, siendo cosa que tanto importava al bien y servicio de vuestra Magestad, porque se pretendia por alli el gobierno y trato de las yslas de los Malucos, con otras muchas que por alli ay del dominio y derecho de su corona Real, aunque este estrecho o canal, ya que se pudiese passar, pues por comparacion de lo que oy se sabe que se navega a la rredonda de Escondia, era possible, queda un grande escrupulo, que seria estremadamente dificultoso para los abitados a temperamento tan contrario, o distante de tan gran extremo, como es España de la parte tan setentrional, como está; por lo qual si los grandes cuidados que a vuestra Magestad fatigan, diessen lugar que su magnanimo coragon concibiese una cosa tan until y necessaria, como era juntar el mar del Sur y el oceano Occidental por aquel estrecho de tierra de Panama al Nombre de Dios, pues ayuda a ello la dispusicion del lugar, pues de diez y siete leguas que son, las doze<sup>1</sup> y mas es de un Rio tan llano y facil que pueden subir por el vergantines y barcos, por manera que no sesenta y dos millas despacio de tierra, como intentó Sosostis, Rey de Egipto, y despues Dario, Rey de los Persas, y despues casi la acabó Ptolomeo, intentando de juntar el mar Bermezo con el Rio Nilo de Egipto, (lo qual despues de hecha se dexo de juntar por ciertas causas: sino hasta quinze serian las que restarian de se rrasgar). Bolviendo a las yslas del Rio de las Gamas y de las adjacentes al continente vezino, son todas las mas, como dicho tengo, pobladas y principalmente de verano de indios como los de S. Domingo, de quien luego diremos, y de mejores cuerpos, ellas y ellos. Tienen sus arcos y flechas y lanças tostadas con que pelean. Es la tierra muy templada y de mucha arboleda, de los que en estas partes ay, como enzinas, robles, solinas.<sup>2</sup> Hallaronse muchas parras silvestres, con uvas y muchas plantas y yervas, como las de España, y mucha marcazita, que pensaron ser oro. Truxeron en el galeon muchos indios de la tierra a España, los quales pusieron en su libertad<sup>3</sup>.....

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<sup>1</sup> B. has: *dies*.

<sup>2</sup> V. and B. have: *ollivas*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Harrisse, *Discovery of North America*, 241 and his *Découverte*, etc., p. 88, and also Wieser, op. cit., Tafel III.

From the *Islario General de todas las Islas del Mundo* in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS. J 92, fols. 294<sup>v</sup>-9. Copies of parts III and IV are also preserved in the Kaiserliche Hofbibliothek at Vienna (Nos. 5542 and 7195) and in the Bibliothèque at Besançon (MS. No. 661). Mr. H. Harriſſe published extracts from these in his *Discovery of N. America*, 234-8, and in his *Découverte, etc. de Terre-Neuve*, 118-21, with French and English translations. Last year the whole of part IV was printed from MS. No. 7195, with a brief account of Santa Cruz's life, in *Die Karten von Amerika in dem Islario General des Alonso de Santa Cruz mit dem spanischen Originaltexte und einer kritischen Einleitung*, herausgegeben von Franz. R. von Wieser, Innsbruck, 1908.

## LXIIA.

The region of which we wish now to treat is commonly called the Labrador's land [Greenland], the point being disputed whether it is separated from the continent of Engrovelandia [Norway]<sup>1</sup>, whereof we have spoken in part I, or of it is one continuous coast with the northern continent of Europe. This point even to-day awaits verification, on account of the insalubrity of this region, which is so cold that it is accessible only in summer. Ziegler is of opinion that this [Green] land is continuous with Escondia [Scandinavia], being influenced by what Antonio Gaboto stated in this connection, who had coasted the northern shores as far as a point beyond the Cod-fish land [Newfoundland] and almost as far as Florida. [He affirmed] that in July there were such large ice-floes and icebergs, larger than their ships, which moved along the coast with the current, that with difficulty they were able to avoid them. But this account was very confused and being the first, not much credence was given to it.

Olaus Magnus<sup>2</sup> gives us to understand that this [Green] land is cut off, so that according to him there should be a passage on that side and round Escondia [Scandinavia] to sail to the eastern islands, that is to say on the eastern side of the same. With regard to the western side of [Greenland] towards the Codfish land [Newfoundland], it is stated that two Portuguese brothers named Corte Real, who made their way

<sup>1</sup> A. E. Nordenskiöld *Facsimilie-Atlas*, plate XXX. Stockholm, 1889; and J. Fischer S. J. and F. R. von Wieser, *The oldest Map with the name America*, plate 3, Innsbruck, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Archbishop of Upsal who died in Rome, 1568; author of a history of the Goths, etc. Cf. also p. 183, note 3.

to that region under licence from the king of Portugal to inhabit the same, and after whom that region [our Newfoundland and Labrador]<sup>1</sup>, is also called the land of the Corte Reals, or by corruption of a syllable Corte Ratos, affirmed that the great continent of the West Indies [North America], the extreme point of which they were occupying, was separated from the Labrador's island [Greenland] by a large wide ocean strait, of which the pilot Antonio Gaboto had also knowledge.

It was called the Labrador's land because a husbandman [Labrador] from the Açores islands gave tidings and information about it to the king of England when he sent Antonio Gaboto, the English pilot and the father of Sebastian Gaboto, who was your Majesty's Pilot major, to discover it. From that time the English have frequented it on account of the fish which are caught in quantities by the natives who are said to have the same customs as those of Lapland, a province in Escondia [Scandinavia], whereof we have spoken in Part I. The English bring thence rare and valuable furs, and transport thither merchandise that pleases the natives. It is stated that the country is well populated, with many trees, fine streams and very large rivers. Along the whole coast are many small, very pleasant islands. The fishing is also good. In summer the land has a pleasant appearance on account of the many trees that are said to grow there; but in winter, from the quantity of snow, it loses this. The southern coast of this [Green] land, which is the only part so far explored, is 150 leagues long, east and west, from the most eastern point called the Great cape [Cape Desolation] to another called the Cape of Islands [Cape Farewell]. Many fine rivers enter the sea from this land, and off the coast lie numerous uninhabited and unproductive islands. On the western side there is a large bay full of islands. This land lies in latitude 50° and in the eleventh climate. Its longest day is 17 hours 15 minutes.

#### ST. JOHN'S ISLAND: ISLANDS OF THE VIRGINS.

Off the coast of the land which we stated above was called the Cod-fish land [Newfoundland and Labrador], where the Corte Reals, two Portuguese brothers, went to settle, and which was first explored by the English pilot Antonio Gaboto by command of the king of England, lie many islands, large and small, in regard to which even to-day our information is scanty,

<sup>1</sup> Fisher and von Wieser, op. cit., plate 16; F. Kunstmann, *Atlas zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Amerikas*, Blätter I to IV, München, 1859.

because the land is cold and produces little of value, and because of the deaths of the said two brothers with all their men, no one knows in what manner; for shortly after their arrival there nothing further was ever heard of them, on which account and because of the slight profit from that land, the king of Portugal has been unwilling to send thither a fresh company or fleet. Being warmer it is held to be a better country than the Labrador's land [Greenland].

Off the east coast of this land [Newfoundland and Labrador] lie numerous islands named as follows:—the first is called *Storm island* and lies in the arm of the sea or [Davis] strait, which separates this Cod-fish land from the Labrador's island [Greenland]. It was named Storm island from a great storm met with near it by a fleet from Portugal at the time the Corte Reals visited those parts.<sup>1</sup> Another, lying at the mouth of a large river, is called *St. John's island* and a third, *St. Peter*. They received these names from having been discovered on the festivals of those blessed apostles.<sup>2</sup> They are desert but many fish are caught in the neighbouring waters.

South of these lie two or three other high islands named *Bird islands*<sup>3</sup>, because when first discovered many birds were observed on them, and among these some we call pelicans. They produce nothing else of value. Further south lie others called *Duck islands*, with more sea-fowl. These islands are flat, sandy and of little value. Some 14 leagues west of these lies a low island surrounded with reefs on which account it is called *Low island*<sup>4</sup>.

South of the Cod-fish land and near a cape named Expectation [Cape Spear]<sup>5</sup> lie three uninhabited islands, the largest of which might be three or four leagues in size.<sup>6</sup> West of these, in a bay named St. Mary's bay<sup>7</sup> are numerous small desert islands with good fishing in the neighbouring waters. These islands are submerged in the winter by the freshets. Near cape St. Mary, which lies just beyond the bay of that name, are three islands, each some eight leagues long, which almost form a triangle with other rocky islets round about. These, which are uninhabited and produce nothing, are called the 11,000 Virgins.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Revue Hispanique*, X. 574. Paris, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Now Gull island.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. Dahlgren, op. cit., plate III.

<sup>5</sup> Cape Spear lies 3½ miles S.E. of St. Johns.

<sup>6</sup> Cape Spear islands, three in number, are quite small.

<sup>7</sup> This bay lies between Cape Race and Placentia bay.

<sup>8</sup> Our St. Pierre and Miquelon islands.



Off the coast of this land is great abundance of fish, for which reason many Bretons and Irish come there every year to fish. Of these they carry away shiploads. The fish most commonly caught are the cod, which when salted can be kept for a long time. These are transported abroad for food and are sold throughout the whole coast of France and Galicia.

South of this Cod-fish land and of St. Mary's bay, some 50 leagues, lies an island named John Estevez's island<sup>1</sup> which was so named in memory of the pilot who discovered it, when on his way here to fish. And others have also been discovered in this manner by chance by those who were on their way to fish in these waters. All are uninhabited and of slight utility. They lie in 46°; and those mentioned above as being off the coast of this continent, lie from 48° to 51°, and in the ninth climate. Their longest day is 16 hours and 20 minutes.

Beyond the islands of the 11,000 Virgins the sea forms a very large bay called the *bay of the Bretons*<sup>2</sup>, on account of the arrival every year in this bay and off this coast of the said Bretons for fish. There are said to be many uninhabited islands in this bay. Especially there is a small one called St. Elmo<sup>3</sup>, which was so named by some Breton fishermen, because one night a storm caught them off this island, on which they declare they saw many burning candles, called by them St. Elmo, who is said to appear in that form.

Beyond the said bay and further to the west near a cape named *Cape Breton*<sup>4</sup> lies an island named St. John's island, stretching east and west along the coast for some 56 leagues. It is 20 leagues in width at the widest part. Some pilots stated that this island did not lie here but was up in the bay named the Bretons' bay as already stated, and in the beginning when this land was first discovered it was so placed on the sailing charts, until Stephen Gomez, the pilot, brought back this information which was slightly different from that which then was known, which is that this island does not lie in the bay where they said it did, but along this coast, as is now stated. There is nothing to report about this island save that the said pilot Stephen Gomez states that when passing it, he saw many fires<sup>5</sup> and signs of habitation. There is a passage between it and the mainland called St. Julian's channel, from five to six

<sup>1</sup> Probably our Sable island. Cf. Dahlgren, op. cit., plate III.

<sup>2</sup> Cabot strait or the southern entrance to the gulf of St. Lawrence.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dahlgren, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Our present cape Breton appears to have borne this name since the beginning of the sixteenth century.

<sup>5</sup> Smoke cape. Cf. Dawson, *The Saint Lawrence Basin*, p. 111.

leagues in width. This island is said to present a pleasant appearance with many groves and rivers that flow down to the sea. In the neighbourhood are many small islands, all uninhabited. It stretches from  $46^{\circ}$  to  $47^{\circ} 30'$  and is in the eighth climate. Its longest day is 15 hours and 40 minutes.

Near Cape Breton are found some small uninhabited islands, frequented by quantities of birds, while the fishing in the waters about them is very good.

ISLANDS OFF THE LAND DISCOVERED BY THE PILOT STEPHEN GOMEZ.

The pilot Stephen Gomez, of whom we have already spoken, in the expedition made by him at the command and by licence of the emperor, our master, in search of and in order to discover Cathay or the eastern city of India, as well as that so-much-sought-for strait or passage leading to the sea commonly called the South sea, discovered, during the 10 months he was absent, a large number of islands along the coast of this continent, and especially a very wide, deep river which he named *Deer river* [the bay of Fundy] on account of the number of these found there. This river was everywhere dotted with islands, on which in summer the Indians from the mainland took up their quarters for the sake of the quantities of salmon, shad, pickerel and other varieties of fish found in those waters. Gomez sailed for some distance up this river, thinking it was the strait of which he was in search. Eventually he discovered it to be a large, deep river. From this fact an idea may be formed of the size and extent of that continent.

And although he shared the general opinion about the strait or passage which as we have already stated separates the Codfish land continent [North America] from the land called the Labrador's land [Greenland], yet he was convinced it was unnecessary to attempt it because of the cold in those parts, which would always be a bar. This opinion and his excuse for not attempting that passage were accepted as so reasonable that no further attempt has ever been made to proceed with this matter, although of great importance to your Majesty's interests and service, since through that channel a claim was laid to the trade and conquest of the Moluccas and to many more islands in those parts belonging of right to your royal crown.

Should this strait or passage be found open, and in view of what is known to-day of the passage round Escondia [Scan-

dinavia] this is possible, yet there remains one great obstacle, which would be the extreme difficulty for persons accustomed to such a different temperature, or one so far removed as is that of Spain from the cold in the north, [to pass that way]. On which account should the great cares that burden your Majesty allow your magnanimous heart to conceive of a matter so useful and necessary as the junction of the South sea with the Western ocean across that isthmus from Panama to Nombre de Dios<sup>1</sup>, which the lie of the land favours so much that out of a total of 17 leagues, 12 are traversed by a river so even and easy that brigantines and barks are able to sail up it, not 62 miles would require to be excavated, as Sosostris, king of Egypt<sup>2</sup>, attempted and after him Darius, king of the Persians, which Ptolemy afterwards almost completed in seeking to connect the Red sea with the river Nile in Egypt, (which attempt for various reasons was abandoned, although not more than 15 miles remained uncut), [but only 5 leagues would require to be excavated].

Returning to the islands in Deer river [the bay of Fundy] and those lying off the neighbouring continent, these, as I have already explained, are nearly all of them inhabited, principally in the summer by Indians like those of St. Domingo, of whom we shall speak presently; although these men and women have finer bodies. They sharpen the bows, arrows and spears with which they fight by toasting them. Their land has a temperate climate and is covered with the trees common to those regions such as evergreens, oaks and olives. Many wild vines are found which bear grapes, and many plants and herbs similar to those of Spain. There is much marcasite which they mistook for gold. They brought home to Spain in the galleon many Indians, whom they afterwards set at liberty.

### LXIII.

EXTRACT FROM MAURICE TOBY'S LOST CHRONICLE.

1496<sup>3</sup>. This year on St. John the Baptist's day, the land of America was found by the Merchants of Bristowe in a shippe of Bristowe, called the *Mathew*; the which said ship departed

<sup>1</sup> A port a little south of Colon which is to be the northern terminus of the Panama canal.

<sup>2</sup> Necho (609-593) began this canal which was finished by Darius (521-486).

<sup>3</sup> 15 September, 1496, to 14 September, 1497. Cf. Miss L. T. Smith's Introduction to *Robert Ricart is Kalendar*, XVII, London (Camden Society), 1872.

from the port of Bristowe the second day of May and came home again the 6<sup>th</sup> of August next following.

From *A Brief Chronicle, conteyninge the accompte of the Reignes of all the Kings in the Realme of Englande, from the entering of Brutus untill this present yeere, with all the notable acts done by the dyvers of them, and wherein is also conteyned the names of all the Mayors, Stewardes, Bayliffes and Sheriffes, of the laudable town of Bristowe. . . . from the first yeere of King Henry ye 3rd, A.D., 1217, untill the present yeere, 1565*, which was destroyed by fire in 1860, but a transcript of which is in the possession of Mr. C. W. George of Bristol. Printed in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9<sup>th</sup> edit., IV., art. Bristol, p. 350, Edinburgh, 1876; Weare, op. cit., 116; *Notes and Queries*, 8<sup>th</sup> series, XI, 501; and Harris, *The Discovery of North America by John Cabot, the alleged date and landfall, also the ship's name, etc.*, p. 42, London, 1897.

#### LXIV.

##### A PORTUGUESE COLONY IN NEWFOUNDLAND, 1520-25.

Haverá 45 annos ou 50, que de Viana se ajuntarão certos homen's fidalgos, e'pola informação que tiverão da terra Nova do Bacalhao, se determinarão a hir povoar algũa parte della, como de feito forão em hũa nao e hũa caravella, e por acharem a terra muito fria, donde hião determinados, correrão para a costa de leste Oeste, té darem na de nordeste sudoeste, e ahi habitarão, e por se lhe perderem os navios, não ouve mais notícia delles, somente por via dos Biscainhos que continuão a dita Costa a buscar e a resgatar muitas cousas que na dita Costa ha, dão destes homen's informação, e dizem que lhe pedem, digão cá a nós outros, como estão ali, e que lhe levem sacerdotes, porque o gentio he domestico, e a terra muito farta e boa, como mais largamente tenho as enformações, e he notorio aos homen's que la navegão, e isto he no Cabo do Britão, logo na entrada da Costa, que corre ao norte em hũa fermoza bahia, donde tem grande povoação e ha na terra cousas de muito prego e muita nós, Castanha, Uvas, outras frutas, por onde parece ser a terra boa e assy nesta companhia forão alguns cazaes, das Ilhas dos Assores, que de caminho tomarão como he notorio, Nosso Senhor quiera por sua mysericordia, abrir caminho como lhe vá socorro, e minha tengão he hir á dita Costa,



de caminho quando for á Ilha de São Francisco, que tudo se pode fazer de hũa viagem.

Porque ao tempo que os antigos dão enformação destas Ilhas, a navegação inda não hera apurada, como agora he, devesse de buscar nas ditas partes, ou por mais hum grao ao norte, ou ao sul, e para loeste e leste, Revolvendosse, como os marcantes milhor o saberão fazer, se nosso senhor não for servido que eu o faça, por que alem de saber a navegação, tenho outras regras das sciencias mathematicas, e bom engenho para todo o necessario ao dito descobrimento, e nosso senhor ordene o que for mais ao seu santo serviço. E escrevi isto, e o mais que em meus papeis tenho escrito, porque não sey o que o senhor Deos fara de my, e por tanto,, se isto a alguem prestar, peço rogue a Deos por minha alma, como eu faço polas dos que fizerão as informações que tenho, porque esta he a obrigação do bom proximo, e dos meus, e tudo pode ser assy como foy e he, o mais que está habitado.

From the Bibliotheca da Universidade, Coimbra, Papeis politicos e historicos, MS. No. 620 (175, *antigo deposito*) fol. 80. The other copy mentioned as being under Miscellanea, MS. No. 135 of the *antigo deposito* could not be found. This document was first printed in 1877 by Senhor Ernesto do Canto, under the title of *Tratado das Ilhas Novas e Descobrimiento dellas e outras couzas feito por Francisco de Souza, feitor d'ElRei Nosso Senhor na capitania da cidade do Funchal da Ilha da Madeira e natural da dita Ilha e' assym sobre a gente de nação Portuguesa, que está em huma grande Ilha, que n'ella forão ter no tempo da perdição das Espanhas, que ha trezentos e tantos annos, em que reinava ElRei Dom Rodrigo. Dos Portuguezes que forão de Viana e das Ilhas dos Açores a povoar a Terra Nova do Bacalhao, vay em sessenta annos, do que succedeo o que adiante se trata anno do Senhor 1570*, pp. 5-6, Ponta Delgada, Açores, 1877.

#### LXIVA.

It will be 45 or 50 years ago that certain noblemen of Vianna associated themselves together and in view of the information in their possession regarding the Codfish-land of Newfoundland determined to settle some part thereof, as in truth they did in a ship and a caravel, but finding the region to which they were bound, very cold, they sailed along

the coast from east to west until they reached that running northeast and southwest, and there they settled. And as they had lost their ships, nothing further was heard of them, save from the Basques who continue to visit that coast in search of the many articles to be obtained there, who bring word of them and state that they [the settlers] asked them to let us know how they were, and to take out priests; for the natives are submissive and the soil very fertile and good, as I have been more fully informed, and is well known to those who sail thither. This is at cape Breton, at the beginning of the coast that runs north, in a beautiful bay, where there are many people and goods of much value and many nuts, chesnuts, grapes and other fruits, whereby it is clear the soil is rich. And in this company went also some families from the Azores islands whom they took on board on their way out, as is well known. May our Lord in his mercy open a way by which to succour them. And my purpose is to go to this coast, in the voyage I shall make to the island of San Francisco,<sup>1</sup> which can all be done in one journey.

Since at the time the ancients gave<sup>2</sup> information of these islands, the route had not been brought to the perfection it now is, it is necessary to feel one's way in those parts with an addition of one degree to the north or to the south and between west and east, coming back by the best course known to the traders, should God not be pleased to send me there, since in addition to a knowledge of navigation, I possess other rules of the mathematical sciences and a good mind for all that is required in the said discovery. And may God ordain what is best for His holy service. And I have written this and whatever else is among my papers, because I never know what the Lord God will do with me, and therefore should this prove of use to any one, I beg him to pray to God for my soul, as I do in behalf of those who collected the information in my possession; for this is the duty of a good neighbour and of all mine; and all may be thus, as was and is the most part that is inhabited.

Translated in part by the Rev. George Patterson in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, VIII, sec. II, 163-4, Montreal, 1891.

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<sup>1</sup> It is not clear what island is meant. Cf. the map is Senhor do Canto's reprint.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. *give*.



## APPENDIX.

### (A.) Printed Sources.

1. 1507. Letter of Pietro Pasqualigo to his brothers in Lisbon, dated at Venice, 19 October, 1501:

Printed in *Paesi nouamente retrouati*, lib. sexto, cap. cxxvi, Vicentia, 1507; and the reprints of 1508, 1512, 1519 and 1521; Biddle, op. cit., 235-6; HARRISSE, *Les Corte-Real*, 211-12; and in the *Archivo dos Açores*, IV, 421-3.

Translated in Biddle, op. cit., 235-6; Weise, op. cit., 209-11; and Markham, op. cit., 236-8. A French translation will be found in HARRISSE, op. cit., 50-2.

2. 1512. Savages from Newfoundland brought to Rouën, 1509:

*Eusebii Cæsariensis Episcopi Chronicon*, etc., fol. 172<sup>v</sup>, Paris, 1512 in 4°; reprinted in Gaffarel, *Histoire du Brésil français au seizième siècle*, 58 note 1, Paris, 1878; HARRISSE, *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, 162.

Translated in Weise, op. cit., 299. A French translation is given in HARRISSE, op. cit., 162-3.

3. 1516. Peter Martyr's account of Cabot's voyage:

*De orbe novo Decades*, III, lib. VI, f. 52, Alcalá, 1516; reprinted at Cologne in 1530, fol. xlvi, and at Paris, 1587, pp. 231-3. A facsimile of the above folio of the first edition will be found in Winsor, op. cit., III, 15.

Translated in Richard Eden, *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India*, 118-19, London, 1555; reprinted by R. Willes, 124-5, London, 1577; M. Lok, *The Historie of the West Indies*, 124-5, London, 1612; *A Selection of Voyages chiefly published by Hakluyt*, 494-5, London, 1812; and in E. Arber, *The first three English Books on America*, 161-2, London, 1895.

An extract with translation is also given in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 513-14, London, 1589; edition of 1600, III, 8-9; reprinted, London, 1810, III, 29-30; reprinted, Edinburgh, 1889, XII, 28-30; and reprinted (Hakluyt Society) Glasgow, 1904, VII, 150-3<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For a complete list of the printed Cabot sources, vid. G. P. Winship, *Cabot Bibliography*, passim, London, 1900.



## 4. 1519. Enciso's description of Newfoundland and Greenland:

Martin Fernandez de Enciso, *Suma de Geographia*, the last paragraph, Sevilla, 1519; reprinted there in 1530 and 1546. The American portion was republished in 1897 at Santiago de Chile by J. T. Medina.

5. 1519. Verses on the Newfoundland fishery<sup>1</sup>:

*A new interlude and a mery of the nature of the .IIII. elementes, etc.*, sign ci. to ciiii, n. p., circa 1519. A unique but imperfect copy is in the British Museum, c 39 b 17; printed in the *Antiquary's Magazine*, I, 87-90, London, 1807; J. O. Halliwell, *Early English Poetry, Ballads, etc.*, XXII, 28-32, London, (Percy Society) 1848; R. Dodsley, *A select Collection of old English Plays*, Hazlitt's edit., I, 28-32, London, 1874; and in Arber, op. cit., xx-xxi.

## 6. 1524. Verrazano's voyage:

Ramusio, *Navigazione et viaggi*, III, 420-22. Venetia, 1556; reprinted, 1565, *ibid*; edn. of 1606, III, 350 (2 pages). Another text will be found in the *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, 2nd ser., I, 55-67, New York, 1841, preceded by an English translation, pp. 41-54; reprinted in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, IX, app. No. 28, pp. 37-52, Firenze, 1853; *Raccolta Colombiana*, pt. III, vol. II, 332-44; and in the *Bollattino della Società Geografica Italiana*, ser. IV, vol. X, num. II, 1308-23, Novembre, 1909.

Translated in Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, sign. A to B 4, London, 1582; *Principall Navigations*, III, 295-300, (1600); reprint of 1810, III, 357-64; reprint of the *Divers Voyages*, 55-71, London (Hakluyt Society) 1850; *Principall Navigations*, XIII, 389-401, Edinburgh, 1889; and the reprint of 1904, VIII, 423-38.

## 7. 1526. Oviedo's account of Gomez's voyage:

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, *De la natural hystoria de las Indias*, c. x, fol. xiiii<sup>v</sup>, Toledo, 1526.

Translated in Eden, op. cit., 213<sup>v</sup>-14; edition of 1577, f. 225; and in Arber, op. cit., 242.

## 8. 1527. John Rut's letter from St. Johns, Newfoundland:

*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, III, 809, London, 1625; reprinted at Glasgow, 1906, XIV, 304-5; and D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland*, 40-1, London, 1895; and *ibid*, 1896.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Thomas Hawkins, *The Origin of the English Drama*, I, 88, Oxford, 1773; Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, I, 124, London, 1765; and M. F. de Navarrete, *Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos*, III, 176-80, Madrid, 1829.

9. 1527. Robert Thorne's declaration and book.

Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, signs B to D 3, London, 1582; reprinted, London, 1850, 27-54; idem, *Principall Navigations*, 250-8, London, 1589.

10. 1534. Peter Martyr's second account of Cabot's voyage:

*Libro primo della historia de l'Indie occidentali*, 65, Venetia, 1534; reprinted in Ramusio, op. cit., III, 35<sup>v</sup>-6, Venetia, 1556; edition of 1565, III, ibid; edition of 1606, III, 29<sup>v</sup>-30.

11. 1535. Oviedo's account of the English expedition of 1527:

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, *La historia general de las Indias*, lib. xix, fo. clxi., cap. xiii, Sevilla, 1535; reprinted at Salamanca, 1547, ibid; and the edition published by J. Amador de los Rios, I, 611, Madrid, 1851.

Translated in Purchas, op. cit., III, 999; reprint of 1906, XV, 231.

12. 1539. Crignon's discourse:

Ramusio, op. cit., III, 423-9; reprinted, 1565, III, 423-9; reprinted, 1606, III, 350<sup>v</sup>-69.

13. 1550. The Mantuan gentleman's discourse:

Ramusio, op. cit., I, 398-403, Venetia, 1550: second edition, 1554, I, 414-15; third edition, 1563, I, 374; fourth edition, 1588, I, ibid; and the reprints of 1606 and 1613, ibid.

Translated in Eden., op. cit., 251<sup>v</sup>-6: edition of 1577, fols. 263<sup>v</sup>-8; and in Arber, op. cit., 287-8. Part of it will also be found in Hakluyt, op. cit., 1589, p. 512; edition of 1600, III, 6-7; edit. 1810, III, 27-8; edit. 1889, XII, 25-7; and in VII, 147-9 of the 1904 edition.

14. 1552. Gomara's account of Newfoundland and Labrador:

F. Lopez de Gomara, *La Istoria de las Indias*, fols. vii-ix and xx, Çaragoça, 1552: edition published at Medina del Campo 1553, ibid; edit. Çaragoça, 1554, fols. iv-vi and xiv-xv; edit. Anvers, 1554, fols. 16<sup>v</sup>-18 and 50-1; and reprint of D. Enrique de Vedia, *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, XXII, 162-3 and 177, Madrid, 1852.

Translated in Eden, op. cit., 317<sup>v</sup>-8; edition of 1577, fols. 227<sup>v</sup>-8: and in Arber, op. cit., 344-5. In part also in Hakluyt, op. cit., 1589, p. 514; 1600, III, 9; 1810, III, 30; 1889, XII, 30-1; and 1904, VII, 153-4.

15. 1553. Voyage of Sebastian Cabot and Perte (or Spert):

R. Eden, *A Treatyse of the newe India*, sign. aa iiii, London, 1553: reprinted in Arber, op. cit., 6. Vid. also Hakluyt, op. cit., 1589, pp. 515-6; edit. 1600, III, 498-9; edit. 1810, III, 591-3; 1890, XV, 120-3; and 1904, X, 2-6.

16. 1556. Ramusio's description of Newfoundland and New France:

Ramusio, op. cit., III, 4, and 417-19: edition of 1565, III, sign. a iiii, and 417-19; edition of 1606, III, sign. a iiii<sup>v</sup> and 347-9.

Translated in part in Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, sign. A 3<sup>v</sup>—4; *Principall Navigations*, 1589, 513; edition of 1600, III, 7-8; 1810, III, 28-9; reprint of *Divers Voyages*, 24-6, London, 1850; reprint of *Principall Navigations*, XII, 27-8, 1889; reprint, 1904, VII, 149-50.

17. 1557. Thevet's account of Cabot's voyage and of Canada:

A. Thevet, *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique*, 148<sup>v</sup> et seq., Paris, 1557-8; Gaffarel's edit. of 1878, 395-444.

Translated in *The New found Worlde*, 122 et seq., London, 1568.

18. 1563. Galvano's account of the voyages of Cabot, the Corte Reals and Gomez.

*Tratado que compôs o nobre & notauel capitão Antonio Galvão, dos diuersos & desuayrados caminhos, por onde nos tempos passados a pimenta & especearia reyo da India ás nossas partes*, etc., fols. 25, 28<sup>v</sup>, 53<sup>v</sup>-4 and 63, Lisbon, 1563; reprinted, Lisbon, 1731, pp. 32, 36, 67-8 and 78-9.

Translated in R. Hakluyt, *The Discoveries of the World*, etc., 32-3, 35-6, 66 and 76; reprinted in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels from the Library of the late Earl of Oxford*, II, 373, 375, 388 and 393, London, 1745; J. S. Clarke, *The Progress of Maritime Discovery*, I. appendix, 23, 35, 55 and 62, London, 1803: *A Selection of Voyages chiefly published by Hakluyt*, 17-19, 34, and 40, London, 1812; and finally reprinted for the Hakluyt Society in 1862, with the Portuguese text, by Vice-Admiral Bethune, pp. 87-8, 96-7, 167-8 and 193.

19. 1566. Damian de Goes' account of the Voyages of the Corte Reals:

Damian de Goes, *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei dom Emanuel*, part 1<sup>a</sup>, fo. 65, Lisboa, 1566; reprinted Lisbon, 1619, fol.

50, cap. lxvi; edit. of 1749, pp. 87-8; and the edition printed at Coimbra, 1790, I, 170-2.

20. 1571. Osorio's account of the voyages of the Corte Reals:

Hieronymo Osorio, *De rebus Emmanuelis*, etc., lib. II, 84-5, Olyssipone, 1571; reprinted in 1574, 1581, 1586 and 1791.

Translated in James Gibbs, *The History of the Portuguese during the reign of Emmanuel*, I, 128-9, London, 1752.

21. 1575. Thevet's account of the voyages of Cabot and of the Corte Reals:

André Thevet, *La Cosmographie universelle*, II, 1022, Paris, 1575.

22. 1579. Chauveton's account of the voyages of the Cabots and Corte Reals:

Urbain Chauveton, *Histoire nouvelle du Nouveau Monde... extraite de l'italien de M. Hierosme Benzoni*, 140-2, n. p. (Geneva) 1579.

23. 1580. Stow's account of Cabot's voyage from Fabyan's lost chronicle:

John Stow, *The Chronicles of England from Brute unto this present yeare of Christ, 1580*, 871-2 and 874-5, London, n. d. [1580]; reprinted by Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, sign. A 3, *Principall Navigations*, 1589, 515; reprint of Stow, 1592, 802 and 807; Hakluyt, op. cit., 1600, III, 9-10; edition of Stow, 1605, pp. 804-5 and 810; edition of 1614, pp. 481-2 and 485; edition of 1631, pp. 480-1 and 483-4; reprint of Hakluyt, 1810, III, 30-1; reprint of the *Divers Voyages*, 1850, pp. 23-4; *Principall Navigations*, 1889, XII, 31-2; and 1904, VII, 154-5.

24. 1589. Richard Hakluyt's account of the voyage of 1527:

R. Hakluyt, op. cit., 1589, p. 517; edition of 1600, III, 129; edition of 1810, III, 167-8; 1889, XII, 293-4; and edition of 1904, VIII, 1-2.

25. 1601. Herrera's account of Gomez's voyage and of that of 1527:

Antonio de Herrera, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las Islas i tierra firme del Mar oceano*, dec. II, lib. V, cap. iii, 144-5; dec. III, lib. IV, cap. xx, 182; dec. III,



lib. VIII, cap. viii, 307-8, Madrid, 1601; reprinted Madrid, 1726, II, 113-15; III, 143-4 and 241. Cf. also dec. III, lib. X, cap. ix, 369 of the edition of 1601 and p. 289 of the 1726 edition.

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